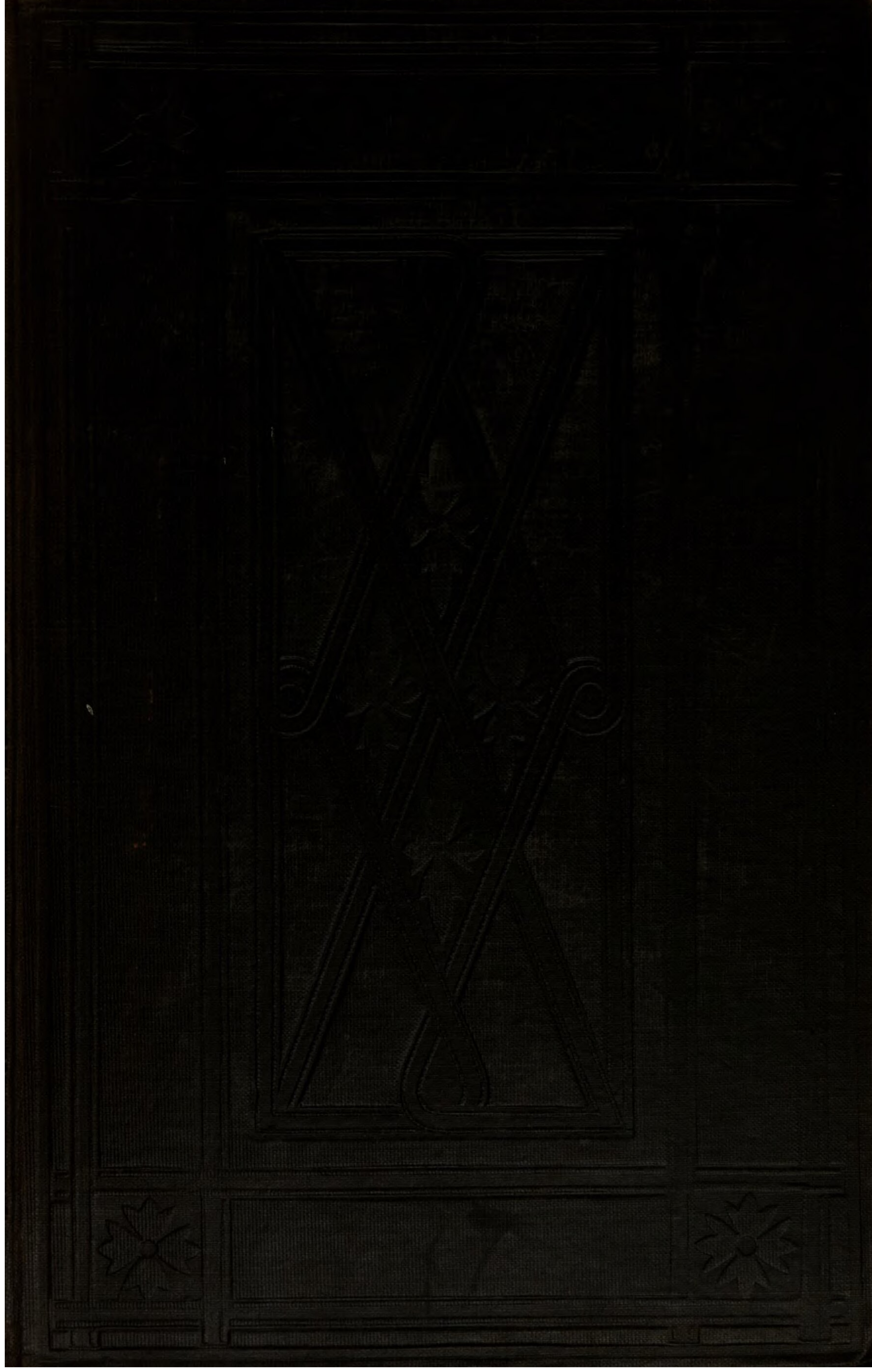




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THE
ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

BY
R. G. LATHAM, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.,

LATE FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; LATE PROFESSOR OF THE
ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

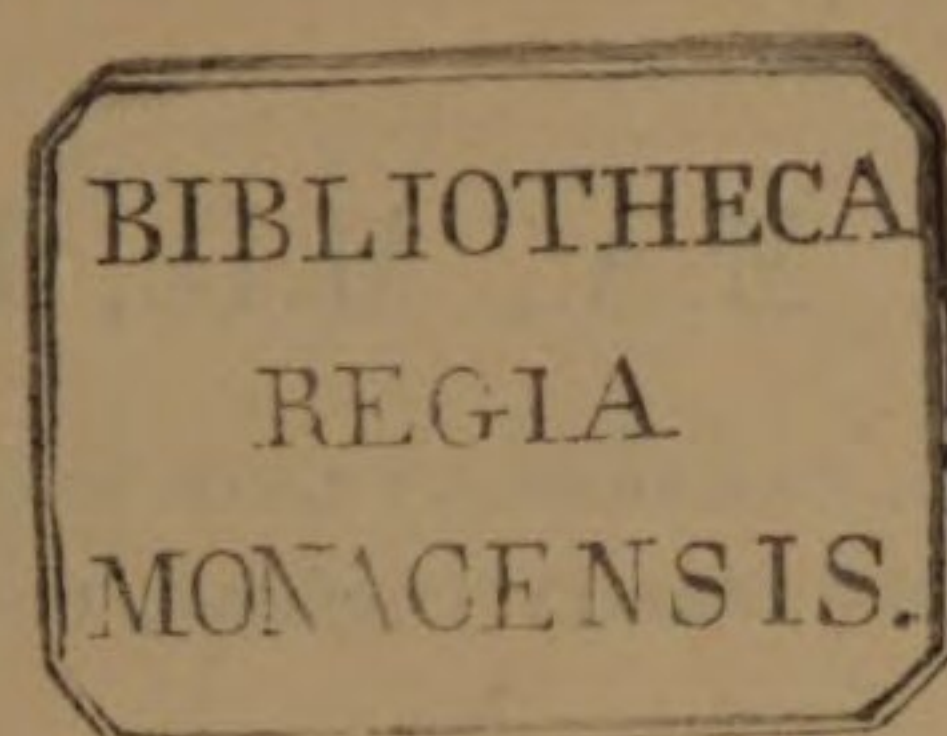
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THE REV. WILLIAM BUTCHER, M.A.,

OF
ROPSLEY, LINCOLNSHIRE,

IN ADMIRATION OF HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS A LINGUIST,

AND AS A TESTIMONY OF PRIVATE REGARD,

The following Pages are Inscribed,

BY HIS FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

LONDON,
November 4th, 1841.

THE REV. WILLIAM HENRY M.A.

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN THE

THE

OF

THE

1841

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ABBREVIATIONS.

- D. G. = Deutsche Grammatik.—Grimm.
 D. S. = „ Sprache.—Ditto.
 D. N. = Deutsche and Nachbarstamme.—Zeuss.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATIONS.

I.

ON THE PARTS OF SPEECH AS DETERMINED BY THEIR PLACES IN PROPOSITIONS.

§ 1. THE object of the present Preliminary Dissertation, the first of three upon three different but necessary subjects, is to justify certain changes which I propose in connection with the names, number, and arrangement of the so-called Parts of Speech. It will conclude with a sketch of the order in which they were developed.

The terms of the Logician will be used, and that freely; but the question is not one of Logic.

Nor yet is it one of Metaphysics; though certain points of Mental Philosophy will show themselves.

The Natural History of Language, or the way in which ideas arose, and represented themselves by means of words, or signs addressed to the ear, is a subject upon which, if I consulted my inclination rather than my knowledge, I would enlarge. It will, however, only be touched on.

All this addresses itself to the reader who is more or less familiar with either this or similar branches of inquiry. On the other hand, some very elementary work will find a place; work which is so elementary, that the merest tyro in logic may pass over it *sicco pede*. Nevertheless it is introduced. The amount of Logic absolutely necessary for the Grammarian is too often omitted in a work on Grammar. This will be given here. Indeed it may not altogether be lost even upon the advanced Logician—inasmuch as it will give him the extent to which his subject is common to two inquirers, the inquirer in the field of Thought, and the inquirer in the field of Language.

§ 2. *Parts of Speech, and the Tests by which they are*

determined.—No one can look into a grammar without finding an enumeration of what are called the *Parts of Speech*, e.g. the Noun, the Verb, the Substantive, the Adjective, the Participle, the Conjunction, the Interjection, &c.

Yet no one can have gone far in the study of any Language, and especially in that of the English, without seeing that the definitions of these are very incomplete and unsatisfactory. He will also have found difficulties of nomenclature.

The test, which we may call the etymological test, and which consists in the grammatical form of a word, is insufficient.

No substantive, in the etymological signification of the term, ends in *-ειν* in Greek; whilst infinitive verbs, generally speaking, do so end. Nevertheless, the infinitive forms *τὸ φθовеῖν*, *ἐν τῷ φθовеῖν*, are not verbs, but substantives. For the purposes, then, of Syntax, at least, the logical test as opposed to the etymological test is indispensable.

In this instance we have all the outward signs of a verb; yet *φθовеῖν* is no verb, but a substantive.

Nevertheless, *-ειν* is the sign of a verb. Perhaps this proves that the question is harder in the Greek, and in languages like it, than it is in the English and some others; inasmuch as the difficulty arises from the combination of two incompatible signs; the sign *-ειν* expressive of a verbal, the sign *τὸ* expressive of a substantival power. Do away with these, and let the root appear in its simple form *φθον-*, and all will be clear.

So it may be said. But such is not the case. A word with no characteristic signs at all, in a language where such signs are either wanting or scarce, may be anything or everything as a Part of Speech, inasmuch as its form is indifferent. If so, the same combination of sounds may have a variety of meanings, and may sometimes constitute one part of speech, sometimes another. The word *up* is an adverb in the sentence *I go up in a balloon*; but it is a preposition in the sentence *I go up a tree*.

Special attention, however, is directed elsewhere to the great extent to which this takes place, in the notice of the eminently English phenomenon of Convertibility.

I hope to show that the place of a word as a Part of Speech is best determined after a view of the structure of propositions;

and that a word is a noun, a conjunction, or a verb, according to either the place it takes in a proposition, or the relation it bears to one.

§ 3. *Names and Propositions, Propositions and Names.*—The nature of *propositions*, and the nature of *names*, require our early consideration. It is convenient to consider the former first; more convenient, perhaps, than scientific, and, perhaps, convenient only in a Preliminary Dissertation like the present—not convenient in all, or even the majority, of treatises. In a work which will be referred to in almost every page of the present inquiry (Mill's *System of Logic*), the Chapter on Names precedes the chapter on Propositions.

Nine-tenths, perhaps ninety-nine-hundredths, of what has been written on the structure of Propositions, has been written by logicians rather than grammarians or philologues, and, consequently, the form which a Proposition takes in the works upon Logic is the form under which it is best known. Nevertheless, it is a form that fails to suit the grammarian *exactly*, though it suits him on the whole, *sufficiently*. In other words, a Proposition in Logic, and a Proposition in Philology or Grammar, are not precisely, though they are nearly, the same thing.

This distinction is anything but a novelty, as may be seen by the following extract from Mill. An adjective "is capable of standing by itself as the predicate of a proposition; as when we say, Snow is white; and occasionally even as the subject, for we may say, White is an agreeable colour. The adjective is often said to be so used by a grammatical ellipsis: Snow is white, instead of Snow is a white object; White is an agreeable colour, instead of, A white colour, or, The colour of white, is agreeable. The Greeks and Romans were permitted, by the rules of their language, to employ this ellipsis universally in the subject as well as in the predicate of a proposition. In English, this cannot, generally speaking, be done. We may say, The earth is round; but we cannot say, Round is easily moved; we must say, A round object. *This distinction, however, is rather grammatical than logical.*" The Italics are the present writer's.

Now if an expression may be exceptionable in Logic, though unexceptionable in Grammar, and *vice versâ*, one of two alter-

In the expression *summer is*, we have the name (*summer*) denoting the object concerning which we affirm something; and we have also the word denoting the existence of an affirmation (*is*). What, however, that affirmation *is*, is unexplained.

In the expression *is pleasant* we find what was wanted in the previous one, viz. an affirmation concerning something. The name, however, of this *something* is unexplained.

Lastly, in the expression *summer—pleasant*, although we find both the name of an object (*summer*), and the name of a property, quality, or attribute (*pleasant*), we find no word or sign by which we can tell whether this property, quality, or attribute of *pleasantness* belongs or does not belong to *summer*; in other words, there is nothing to show whether the fact expressed by the word *pleasant* is denied or affirmed of the word *summer*.

Hence, every proposition consists of three parts:—

1. *The Subject*.—The something concerning which we make a statement, whether in the way of affirmation or denial, or the subject of our discourse, is called the Subject; so that the subject is the word denoting the person or thing concerning which something is affirmed or denied. *Man, summer, winter, &c.*, are subjects, and we can assert of them that they are *mortal, pleasant, cold, &c.*; or else that they are not so, *i. e.* that they are *not mortal, not pleasant, not cold, &c.* In the first case the proposition is affirmative, in the second negative.

2. *The Predicate*.—The name of the notion connected with the subject of our discourse, is called the Predicate. *Mortal, warm, cold*, are predicates.

3. *The Copula*.—That part of a proposition which connects the subject and predicate is called the Copula; and it is the word which serves as a sign to denote the existence of either an affirmation or a denial, and to show which of the two it is. In the previous examples the word *is* forms the affirmative, the words *is not* form the negative copula.

The number, then, of the essential parts of a Logical Proposition is three—each with its name: (1) Subject, (2) Predicate, (3) Copula.

§ 5. Is this the *order* of them? The current doctrine is,

that the copula connects the subject and the predicate, and consequently stands between them.

Hence the subject and the predicate stand at the ends* or extremities of propositions.

The technical Language of Logic is not satisfied with the two words *Subject* and *Predicate* alone. On the contrary, it requires some generic term comprehending the two together.

This we get, and we get it from the place given to those two elements, the Subject standing at the *beginning*, the Predicate at the *end* of its Proposition—serving so to say as boundaries, or *termini*, one initial and one final.

Hence, we get the word *Term*, as applied to the Subject and Predicate collectively.

§ 6. The chief field in which the Proposition of the Grammarian takes a wider range than that of the Logician is that of *Questions* or *Interrogations*. In the proposition of the Logician *something is either affirmed or denied of something*. In other words there is always the element *Yea* or *Nay*.

But what is the case where instead of an affirmation or a denial we have an application for information—a Question? What is the case when instead of *Yea* or *Nay*, we have such words as *Who*, and *What*, *When*, and *Where*, *Is it*, or *Is it not*? Logic takes no notice of these. Logic only *answers* questions.

Archbishop† Whately expressly, and by name, excludes *Questions* and also *Commands* from the domain of Logic.

Nevertheless, for the purposes of Grammar, a sentence in which a question is asked is as truly a proposition as the one wherein an affirmation or denial is made; indeed an interrogation is only an assertion with its parts transposed.

In the expression *what is this*, the word *what* is the predicate. Its meaning is *something concerning which I want*

* For the doctrine that the order of the parts of a proposition is indifferent, see *Boole's Laws of Thought* (chap. ii.).

† A Proposition is *judgment expressed in words*. A Proposition is, defined logically, *a sentence indicative, i.e. affirming or denying*. This excludes commands and questions.

information. Its place is at the beginning of the proposition, instead of the end. The logical sense of the sentence is *this (is) something unknown requiring explanation.*

Commands.—The propositional nature of *commands* is less clear than that of interrogations. The words *walk! stand! &c.*, in one sense, convey neither an affirmation nor a denial. Nevertheless they have the essential elements of a proposition, viz. a subject, copula, and predicate (*walk = thou be walking*). Furthermore, they are affirmative, as opposed to negative, and *vice versâ*.

§ 7. *Remarks on the Copula.*—Two points connected with the copula require notice, the one arising out of the structure of Language, and the other out of its function of expressing *both* denial and affirmation.

1. Many logicians, both early and late, have considered that when the predicate implies *existence*, it is expressed by the copula alone. Whence such expressions as *God is*, are considered to consist of a subject and copula (or copula-predicate) alone.

This error arises from the word *is* being a copula and something more. It superadds to its power of denoting the agreement or disagreement between the subject and predicate the notion of existence.

In this case, however, it is not the copula which has enlarged its powers, but the *sign* of the copula which has a double function.

Such an error as the one before us is best guarded against by bearing in mind the essentially *relative* character of the copula. All that it expresses is identity or non-identity between the two terms.

Let A stand for the Subject.

„ B „ „ Predicate.

„ = „ „ Affirmative Copula.

„ ≠ „ „ Negative Copula,

and all such errors are avoided.

§ 8. Another point requiring notice is what may be called the *distribution of the negative element*; a matter which we have hitherto looked at from one view only, having attached it

at once and without any qualification to the *copula*. For the copula, we have said, is of two sorts—affirmative or negative—*is* or *is not*. Yet it is clear that a very little ingenuity may modify this doctrine, doing much to undo its simplicity. An acute logician, fond of refinement, may easily make out a case for distributing his negative differently; in which case he would recognise only one form of copula (*is*), and combine the negative with the predicate. Thus, the division of the proposition, *Cæsar is not dead*, would not be *Cæsar (is not) dead*, but *Cæsar (is) not dead*.

In this case a negative proposition would be one wherein the copula was affirmative, and the predicate negative. In such a case the formula just suggested requires modification, so that, *e. g.*—

Let A stand for the Subject.

„ B „ „ Affirmative Predicate.

„ B' „ „ Negative Predicate.

„ = „ „ Copula.

Here we get rid of $\neq$, but take B' in its place.

This difference of distribution is no imaginary hypothesis but a reality. Many logicians have supported, Hobbes being one, Mill being *not* one of them.

“A proposition being a portion of discourse in which something is affirmed or denied of something, the first division of propositions is into affirmative and negative. An affirmative proposition is that in which the predicate is *affirmed* of the subject; as, *Cæsar is dead*. A negative proposition is that in which the predicate is *denied* of the subject; as, *Cæsar is not dead*. The copula, in this last species of proposition, consists of the words *is not*, which are the sign of negation; *is* being the sign of affirmation.

“Some logicians, among whom may be mentioned Hobbes, state this distinction differently; they recognise only one form of copula, *is*, and attach the negative sign to the predicate. ‘*Cæsar is dead*,’ and ‘*Cæsar is not dead*,’ according to these writers, are propositions agreeing not in the subject and predicate, but in the subject only. They do not consider ‘*dead*,’ but ‘*not dead*,’ to be the predicate of the second proposition, and they accordingly define a negative proposition to be one in

which the predicate is a negative name. The point, though not of much practical moment, deserves notice as an example (not unfrequent in logic) where by means of an apparent simplification, but which is merely verbal, matters are made more complex than before. The idea of these writers was, that they could get rid of the distinction between affirming and denying, by treating every case of denying as the affirming of a negative name. But what is meant by a negative name? A name expressive of the *absence* of an attribute. So that when we affirm a negative name, what we are really predicating is absence and not presence; we are asserting not that anything *is*, but that something is *not*; to express which operation no word seems so proper as the word denying. The fundamental distinction is between a fact and the non-existence of that fact; between seeing something and not seeing it, between Cæsar's being dead and his not being dead; and if this were a merely verbal distinction, the generalisation which brings both within the same form of assertion would be a real simplification: the distinction, however, being real, and in the facts, it is the generalisation confounding the distinction that is merely verbal; and tends to obscure the subject, by treating the difference between two kinds of truths as if it were only a difference between two kinds of words. To put things together, and to put them or keep them asunder, will remain different operations, whatever tricks we may play with language."

§ 9. Again,—in such a sentence as *the sun was rising* the word *was* appears to be a copula and something more. It is in the past tense, and expresses time. But it must be recollected that it does not do so on the strength of its being a copula. The notion of *time*, and the expression of it, is a matter not of Logic but of Grammar. The copula expresses *agreement or disagreement between the subject and predicate* exclusively. Whenever it appears to do more, it is owing to the word used to express it having certain *plus-quam-copular* powers.

§ 10. Logic consists *exclusively* of Propositions; whilst, in respect to Language, we have only to consider the great extent to which statements concerning particular objects, or classes of objects, form the staple of human conversation, to remember how much of our speech is applied to making different asser-

tions concerning different subjects. If we do this we shall soon see the great proportion which that part of our language which takes the form of propositions bears to that which does not do so.

Or, we may get at the same result by considering—

§ 11. *The Parts of Speech that enter into the Structure of Propositions.*—From the propositions already quoted (*the weather is hot* and *the weather is not hot*), it is evident that the word *weather* belongs to one of those parts of speech that enter into the structure of propositions. If it were not so, it would not appear as it does.

The same applies to the word *is*.

The same to the word *hot*.

The same to the word *not*.

Each and all of these words, however much they may differ in other respects, agree in the fact of their being admissible into the structure of propositions. So do all words like them. Their name is Legion.

On the other hand, there are certain—

§ 12. *Parts of Speech that do not enter into the structure of Propositions.*—Take the words *ah! oh! pish!* or any of the words usually called interjections. They will not combine with other words so as to form sense. They will neither make a proposition by themselves, nor help to make one in conjunction with other words. The person who uses them, uses them as he would use a gesture, to express surprise, pain, or contempt; but although he uses them thus he makes no *affirmation*. He no more affirms that *he is surprised*, or that *he is in pain*, or that *he is scornful*, than if he started back, or laid his hand upon a tender part of his body, or curled his lip contemptuously; and in like manner the hearer understands his meaning. But he would have understood a gesture as well. Nothing is affirmed or denied by the words. Neither do they enter into propositions wherein anything is affirmed or denied. They are wholly independent of propositions; as much so as the hiss of a snake, or the groan of a wounded animal,—expressions of which we *infer* the meaning, but expressions as to the meaning whereof we are not informed in the way that we are informed by propositions.

This shows that there are certain parts of speech that do not enter into the construction of propositions.

They not only do not enter into the construction of propositions at all, but are wholly independent of them. If no propositions existed, such words would still exist.

There is another class of words which, for a different reason, do not enter into the construction of Propositions. There are certain words which, without entering into the construction of propositions, are yet dependent for their presence in language upon the existence of them. This is readily conceivable. Words may exist which shall *connect* two propositions, and yet form a part of neither. Such a word is *because*.

The day is fine is one proposition.

The sun is bright is another proposition.

The day is fine, because the sun is bright, is a pair of propositions connected by the word *because*: the word *because* itself belongs to neither.

This class of words, and the class alluded to immediately before it, will be again alluded to. At present they are mentioned solely for the sake of showing that it is not every word nor every part of speech that enters into the construction of propositions. On the contrary—

Two classes of words do not so enter. One is wholly independent of propositions. The other presupposes not only one proposition, but two; which two it connects.

Now, when it is remembered that there are only two classes of words (neither class numerous) that do *not* enter into the construction of propositions, and when it is also remembered that one of these classes, although containing words that belong to no *one* proposition, come between, and imply the existence of *two*, we shall see additional proofs of the greatness of the extent to which propositions form the staple of human speech.

The following question may now be asked, viz.—

§ 13. If propositions are so short, how is it that sentences are so long? If subjects and predicates are so simple, how become periods so complex?

The fact is, that both subjects and predicates may be made complex, by the addition of subordinate parts; *e. g.*—

The sun (is) shining.

The early sun (is) brightly shining.

The early sun with glad beams (is) brightly shining through the air, &c.
and so on.

Terms like those of the two last examples are called *Mixed Terms*.

The objects also that they express are called objects of *Complex Apprehension*, in opposition to objects of *Simple Apprehension*, like *the sun*, &c.

The names of objects of complex apprehension (*i.e.* mixed terms) are sometimes called *Many-worded Names*.

Again, one proposition may be subordinate to another—in other words, a whole proposition may enter into the structure of many-worded names; *e.g.*—

i. The man (is) returning,

ii. Who (was) sent to market.

Combine these, and they form but a single designation, or name. Thus; *the man who was sent to market(is) returning*. The words, *the man who was sent to market*, form but a single name; a many-worded one, doubtless, yet still but a single name.

§ 14. So much in respect to the complexity of *terms*. We may add that the sign of the *affirmative copula* is rarely, probably never, simple. It gives us, as has already been stated, a predicate as well. *He is = he is existing*.

The sign of the *negative copula* is rarely, if ever, simple: being an affirmative *plus* a negation; as *is not*. This is what we expect beforehand. But we are not prepared to expect the negative element itself should be rarely, *originally and in its structure*, simple. Such, however, is the case. The word *not* = *n + whit*, *n + aught*, *n + ot*, its sense being *not-a-whit*, *not-a-bit*, *not-at-all*. The French language illustrates this still more clearly—where the second element (*pas* or *point*) is separated from the negative proper by the verb. *Je ne l'ai vu pas* = *I have not him seen at all*, being (as in English, only more transparently) a negative, and something else.

This second element in these compound negatives is ad-

verbial. It gives us the manner or degree to which the negation exists, over and above the simple negation itself. This is common—not universal. However it deserves to be noted.

§ 15. A number of words may go to a single term. “Thus, in the opening of the *Paradise Lost*, these lines,—

‘——— the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,’—

form in the estimation of the logician only one name. A mode of determining whether any set of words makes only one name, or more than one, is by predicating something of it, and observing whether, by this predication, we make only one assertion or several. Thus, when we say, John Nokes, who was the mayor of the town, died yesterday,—by this predication we make but one assertion; whence it appears that ‘John Nokes, who was the mayor of the town,’ is no more than one name. It is true that in this proposition, besides the assertion that John Nokes died yesterday, there is included another assertion, namely, that John Nokes was mayor of the town. But this last assertion was already made: we did not make it by adding the predicate, ‘died yesterday.’ Suppose, however, that the words had been, John Nokes *and* the mayor of the town, they would have formed two names instead of one. For when we say, John Nokes and the mayor of the town died yesterday, we make two assertions; one, that John Nokes died yesterday; the other, that the mayor of the town died yesterday.”

§ 16. If many words go to a term, there must be some means of connecting them, *i.e.* of showing not only that they are related to each other, but how are they related.

These *means* are various. Sometimes there is an order so fixed and invariable in the arrangement of the different words constituting a single term, as to make it difficult to mistake their mutual relation.

Sometimes there is a special set of words indicative of con-

nection and relation. In the extract from the *Paradise Lost* just given, *of*, *with*, &c., are of this sort. *Of* connects the *fruit* with the *forbidden tree*; whereas *with* connects *woe* with the *loss of Eden*.

In Latin the words for

——— fruit

Of that forbidden tree—

would be *fructus illius arboris vetitæ*. In this case there is no such word as *of*. What have we instead? The termination *-is* in the word *arbor-is*. The simple form is *arbor*.

In the proposition *fire burns*, the word *fire* is the subject, the idea expressed by the sounds, *b, u, r, n*, being the predicate. The full expression, *fire is burning*, in the simplest form of language, would be *fire is burn*; wherein *is*, the copula, would appear as a separate word. In the proposition, however, as it stands (*fire burns*), we have instead of the copula as a separate word, a modification (*i. e.* the addition of *s*) of the form of the predicate.

Propositions, then, in language may be sometimes more compendiously expressed than propositions in Logic—some words forming, by themselves, a term—some less than a term—some more than a term.

Now the part that a given word plays in this respect fixes its position as a part of speech.

§ 17. *Use of the word Name*.—The chief differences between the Proposition of the Grammarian and the Proposition of the Logician having been considered, attention must be directed to the use of the word *Name*. Up to the present time it has been avoided as much as possible.

The following extract gives us two opinions as to its definition—inasmuch as it gives us a text from Hobbes, and a commentary from Mill.

“‘A name,’ says Hobbes, ‘is a word taken at pleasure to serve for a mark, which may raise in our mind a thought like to some thought we had before, and which being pronounced to others, may be to them a sign of what thought the speaker had before in his mind.’ This simple definition of a name,

as a word (or set of words) serving the double purpose of a mark to recall to ourselves the likeness of a former thought, and a sign to make it known to others, appears unexceptionable. Names, indeed, do much more than this; but whatever else they do, grows out of, and is the result of this: as will appear in its proper place."

Will the definition suit the Grammarian?

Before we answer, let us look at such words as *heavy*, *red*, *bright*, &c., words which the grammarian terms *adjectives*. Are these words *names*? Let the answer be Yes, and let the questioning proceed. What are they names of? Of certain qualities—the qualities, for instance, of *heaviness*, *redness*, and *brightness*. Be it so. There is a difference, however, between the two classes of words.

That the latter are *names* no one doubts; many doubt about the former. *Heaviness* is a substantive, and a substantive is a *name* all the world over. *Heavy*, is an adjective, and there are many who demur to calling an adjective a *name*.

"It is usual," writes Mr. Mill at the beginning of his *System of Logic*, "before examining the various classes into which names are commonly divided, to begin by distinguishing from names of every description those words which are not names, but only parts of names. Among such are reckoned particles, as *of*, *to*, *truly*, *often*; the inflected cases of nouns substantive, as *me*, *him*, *John's*; and even adjectives, as *large*, *heavy*. These words do not express things of which anything can be affirmed or denied. We cannot say, Heavy fell, or A heavy fell; Truly, or A truly, was asserted; Of, or An of, was in the room. Unless, indeed, we are speaking of the mere words themselves, as when we say, Truly is an English word, or, Heavy is an adjective. In that case they are complete names, viz. names of those particular sounds, or of those particular collections of written characters."

From this extract we see, at once, that there are degrees in the applicability of the word *name*. It is a clearer case with words like *large* and *heavy*, than it is with the words *of*, *to*, *truly*, and *often*, just as it was a clearer case with *heaviness*, and *brightness*, than it was with *heavy* and *bright*. This we

collect from the word *even* ("and *even* adjectives," &c.), a word which helps us to the author's own opinion on the matter. He evidently thinks that the exclusion of the adjectives from the class of names is a strong and doubtful measure, and he informs us that such an exclusion has, at some time or other, by some one or other, been made.

Now, although it be a question whether adjectives be names or not, there is no question as to its being the business of the grammarian to either define the word or eschew its use. Neither is there any doubt as to his being likely to either employ the term *Noun*-adjective himself, or to meet with it in the writings of others.

But *Noun* is from the Latin word *Nomen*, and the Latin word *Nomen* means a *Name*.

It is safe, then, to say that the chance of our having to deal with *noun*-adjectives, combined with the doubt as to adjectives being conveniently dealt with as *names*, makes the consideration of the word under notice an almost indispensable preliminary to any work embracing a definition of the so-called Parts of Speech.

Now, for common language it is difficult to have any idea of a *name*, without also having an idea of an *object named*—a *nominé*, so to say.

But this *nominé* is a substance, or object, rather than an attribute or a quality.

Hence—in the way of *grammatical* nomenclature, the results to which I have come are as follows:—

1. To use the word *name* as little as possible in any technical sense.

2. To use instead of it the word *appellative*.

3. To forget, as much as possible, the etymological connection between the words *noun* and *name*.

4. To ignore the use of the word *noun* as the name of a genus of which *substantives* and *adjectives* are species and to which *pronouns* are the equivalents.

5. To forget, as much as possible, the fact that *pro-* in the word *pro-noun* means *for*.

§ 18. *Categorematic, &c., words*.—A word capable of form-

ing, by itself, a *term* is called *categorematic*; from the Greek $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu =$ to predicate.

A word capable by itself of forming only the *part of a term* is called a syn-categorematic word; the Greek word $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ signifying *with*.

A word capable by itself of forming a *term and something more than a term*, may be called a Hyper-categorematic word; the Greek word $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho$ signifying *over, above, over and above*.

§ 19. *Appellatives*.—An *appellative* is a categorematic word, capable of forming *either* the subject or the *predicate* of a proposition.

Adjective.—An *adjective* is a categorematic word, capable of forming the predicate but not the subject of a proposition.

Verbs.—A word capable of forming *both* copula and a predicate is called a verb.

Appellatives, adjectives, and verbs, are parts of speech that occur in the very simplest propositions—indeed no term can exist except under one of these denominations.

§ 20. If all propositions were perfectly simple, *i. e.* if there were no such things in language as complex terms, the parts of speech just enumerated would comprise all the words admissible into propositions, or, what is the same thing, all the words, with few exceptions, that constitute language.

But all terms are *not* simple; and the existence in language of complex ones creates the occasion for other classes of words or other parts of speech.

There exist, in language, parts of speech, or classes of words, for the admission whereof into propositions a certain degree of complexity in either the subject or predicate is a condition. These parts of speech, or classes of words, are two in number, Adverbs and Prepositions.

Adverbs.—A word inadmissible in a simple, but admissible in a complex term, and therein requiring the presence of only a *single* categorematic or hyper-categorematic element, is called an Adverb—*John is speaking loudly*. All words that can take the place of *loudly* in a proposition are Adverbs.

Prepositions.—A word inadmissible into a simple, but ad-

missible into a complex term, and therein requiring the presence of *two* categorematic elements, is called a Preposition. The words *with*, *from*, are prepositions.

§ 21. Appellatives and Adjectives are *Categorematic*.

Verbs are Categorematic, and something more—*i. e.* *Hyper-categorematic*.

Adverbs and Prepositions are *Syn-categorematic*.

Appellatives and Adjectives can form whole terms.

Verbs can form a term and copula.

Adverbs and Prepositions can form parts of terms.

Hence an Appellative + a preposition is a term and something more.

An appellative *plus* the *equivalent of a preposition* is in the same predicament as an appellative + a preposition.

An *inflection* is the equivalent of a preposition. Where we say *of a father* the Latins say *patris*. Now such a word as *patris* can no more enter into the structure of a simple term than the combination *of a father*.

An adjective is a predicate.

A verb is a predicate + a copula.

The predicate element of a verb is an adjective.

Prepositions connect *Appellatives*.

Adverbs qualify *Verbs*.

Of the two elements of a verb, the copular and the predicial (or adjective), it is the latter with which the adverb combines.

Hence, an adverb is as much the adjunct to the adjective as it is to the verb.

§ 22. To recapitulate, with a slight change of language, and with the substitution of the word *terminal* instead of *categorematic*, premising that *terminal* means *capable of constituting a term of either kind, subject or predicate*—

A. *Appellatives* are terminal.

Adjectives are predicative — *i. e.* capable of constituting but *one* of the two terms of a preposition, viz. the predicate.

Verbs are copular and predicative.

Adverbs and *Prepositions* (or Inflections equivalent to Prepositions) can form only parts of terms. Of these—

Adverbs are adjuncts to the predicative element of the *verb*.

Prepositions connect Pronouns and Substantives when more than one of them occur in a term.

All these parts of speech either constitute terms, or else are included in them, or else include them. Thus—

Appellatives constitute terms:—

Adverbs and Prepositions are included in terms:—

Verbs, forming a copula + a predicate, may be said to include terms.

They may all be said to be either *terminal* or *intra-terminal*.

§ 23. But this is not all. There are words which come under none of these categories; which are not Categorematic, nor yet Syn-categorematic, nor yet Hyper-categorematic, neither terminal nor intra-terminal. Nevertheless, they bear an undoubted relation to terms, and cannot exist without them.

Conjunctions.—A word which connects either two terms *of the same kind* within the same proposition, or else two propositions, is called a *conjunction*.

This requires explanation. An ordinary logical *copula* connects two terms, but as these terms are not of the same kind, one being a predicate and the other a subject, a conjunction has to be separated from the copula.

All men are black *or* white. Here the word *or* connects the two adjectives *black* and *white*, both being in the same proposition and both being terms of the same kind; *i. e.* predicates.

The day is bright,
because

The sun *is* shining.

Here the conjunction *because* connects two propositions.

In such expressions as:

The sun *and* moon shine,
the number of propositions is *two*, however single the sentence may be.

The sun *and* moon shine,
is merely a compendium for:

The sun shines,
and

The moon shines.

Conjunctions then, are *extra-terminal*. As such, they are of two kinds, *inter-terminal*,* and *inter-propositional*.

§ 24. *Interjections*.—A part of speech that exists wholly independent of the existence of propositions is called an *Interjection*.

Yes and no.—The word *yes* is equivalent to the proposition *it (is) so*. The word *no* is equivalent to the proposition *it (is not) so*. Undoubtedly, such words form a separate class.

§ 25. All these classes of words, with the exception of the Interjection, differ from each other in the manner in which they comport themselves as either parts of propositions, adjuncts to propositions, or equivalents to propositions; and in this difference, a difference not affected by the non-proposi-

* In this definition of a conjunction I have abandoned an opinion, somewhat strongly expressed in my previous works, to the effect that it was only *propositions* (not *terms*) which were connected by conjunctions. The correction is chiefly due to the important investigations of Professor Boole, who has left no doubt in my mind as to the real nature of such expressions as “Animals are *either* rational *or* irrational,” and “Men are, *if* wise, *then* temperate.” In his *Laws of Thought* he writes thus—“The proposition, ‘Animals are either rational or irrational,’ is primary. It cannot be resolved into ‘Either animals are rational, or animals are irrational,’ and it does not, therefore, express a relation of dependence between the two propositions connected together in the latter disjunctive sentence. The particles, *either*, *or*, are, in fact, no *criterion* of the nature of propositions, although it happens that they are more frequently found in secondary propositions. Even the conjunction *if* may be found in primary propositions. ‘Men are, if wise, then temperate,’ is an example of the kind. It cannot be resolved into ‘If all men are wise, then all men are temperate.’”

The work referred to of Professor Boole’s is, by no means, the only one wherein the mathematician has advanced philology. In the chapter upon *shall* and *will* I have quoted, *in extenso*, remarks from a paper of Professor De Morgan’s. I now refer to his *Formal Logic* for further illustrations of more than one subtle and important point of language.

I regret that there is no similar publication of my friend Mr. Sylvester’s, to whose conversation I owe much in the way of suggestion, both in respect to Formal Syntax and Phonesis. The doctrine, for instance, to which I have alluded in the sequel, as to the names for the Cardinal Numbers being of later origin than those of the Ordinals, notwithstanding the derivative form of the latter, is a result to which we each arrived independently — the one on mathematical, the other on philological grounds.

tional character of the Interjection—lies their difference as *Parts of Speech*. Hence, as matters stand at present,—

All words forming different portions of a proposition are different parts of speech.

I submit that this rule be absolute.

What, however, is the case with the following; *viz.* that—

All words forming the same portions of a proposition are the same Parts of Speech.

I submit that this is, by no means so absolute as the other.

Let us investigate it. If the rule be absolute, we must deny that either the *Pronoun* or the *Participle* is a Part of Speech—to say nothing about the *Article*.

In one sense the Pronoun is no true part of speech, but only a particular kind of *Appellative*. Thus; in—

He is mortal,

the Pronoun *he* plays the same part as the substantive *man*, in—

Man is mortal.

Again,—

It is *he*,

gives us Pronouns in the same place with

Flesh is *grass*.

In this same sense the Participle is no true part of speech, but only a variety of the *Adjective*. It is an adjective capable of combining with a copula, and thereby forming a verb.

Or it is a verb *minus* its copular element. Tested by its place in a proposition, the participle *shining* in—

The sun is *shining*,

is neither more nor less than the adjective *bright* in—

The sun is *bright*.

It is clear, then, that the *Pronoun* has the same propositional place and power as the *Substantive*, and, as such, is the same part of speech.

And, in like manner, the *Participle* has the same propositional place and power as the *Adjective*, and, as such, is the same part of speech.

§ 26. We shall see, however, that, though the place and power agree, the meanings which determine them differ.

To begin with the Pronoun:—

Let us contrast the meaning of such a word as *I*, on the one

hand, with such a word as *father*, on the other, and we shall perceive the differences between *Variable* and *Invariable* appellatives.

Father is a word denoting any individual that stands in a certain relation to another individual named *son*. The number of such individuals is indefinite. Nevertheless they may be taken as a class, which class is denoted by the word in question (*father*). This appellative is invariable, since it cannot be applied to any object not belonging to the class which it denotes.

The word *I*, on the other hand, is variable. Its meaning changes with the person in whose mouth it occurs. When *William* says *I*, it means *William*; when *Thomas* says *I*, it means *Thomas*. If a *mother* says *I*, it means a *mother* and a *female*; if a *father* says *I*, it means a *father* and a *male*. Even if an inanimate object be personified and be supposed to speak about itself and to say *I*, it means that inanimate object. It denotes the speaker, whoever it may be; but it is not the invariable name of any speaker whatever.

The same reasoning applies to *thou*, *he*, *you*, &c.

A Substantive, then, is an invariable	} Appellative.
A Pronoun is a variable.	

§ 27. The Participle will be considered in the sequel. At present I suggest, in opposition to the ordinary grammatical classification—

That the Pronoun should be closely connected with the Substantive, and the Adjective with the Participle. If so—

The division of Nouns into Substantives and Adjectives, and the relegation of the Pronoun to a different class is exceptionable; the better classification being—

NOUNS.

Appellative.

Adjective.

Substantives, Pronouns. Adjectives Proper, Participles.

§ 28. *Articles*.—The subject of a logical proposition is of four kinds—

i. *Universal Affirmative*.—*Man is mortal*, equalling, in meaning, *all men are mortal*; *every man is mortal*.

ii. *Universal Negative*.—*No man is mortal*.

iii. *Definite*.—*The man is mortal*; *the men are mortal*.

iv. *Indefinite*.—*A man is mortal; some men are mortal.*

Now, as each of these subjects may be accompanied by a special sign expressive of its character, such a sign must be enumerated amongst the possible parts of speech.

A special sign, however, of the universality of an affirmative subject is either rare or non-existent in language.

A special sign of the universality of a negative subject is *not* rare in language. In English it is the word *no*.

Special signs for the definitude and the indefinitude of a subject are *not* rare in language. In English they are the words *the* and *a* (or *an*) respectively.

When such signs occur they are called Articles.

In order for a word to be an article, it must be *incapable of standing in a proposition, except as the sign of the character of a subject*.

If *the* could be used where *this* or *that* (the words with which it is etymologically connected) can be used, it would be either a noun or pronoun.

If *a* could be used where *one* (the word with which it is etymologically connected) can be used, it would be a noun.

If *no* could be used whenever *not one* can be used, it would be a noun combined with a negation.

But none of the three words can be thus used, and this negative character places them in a class by themselves.

An *Article* is a modified Pronoun.

The *Numerals* are Pronouns—Pronouns rather than Adjectives.

§ 29. Hitherto we have looked at the Proposition rather than the word, determining the character of the word by its function as the element of a Proposition.

Let us now look at the word rather than the Proposition, and investigate the properties by which such and such words perform such and such functions.

Preliminary hereto is the notice of—

Substance and attribute.—An object is what it is through its *attributes*. Thus we attribute to *gold* certain properties or qualities in the way of *weight*, *colour*, &c., on the strength of which we use such words as *heavy*, *yellow*, &c. An object without any attribute is no object at all.

On the other hand, the result of a certain amount of attributes (*e.g.* *heaviness* in the way of *weight*, *yellowness* in the way of *colour*, &c.) is a *substance* that (so to say) supports or *stands under* (*sub stat*) the idea of them.

Sometimes the attribute denotes a *state* rather than an action, as when we say the *sun is bright*; sometimes an *action* rather than a state, as when we say the *sun is shining*—in both of which cases we get a positive quality or property of the substance spoken of.

Very often, however, the property attributed to the substance consists, not in any positive quality of its own, but in its *relation* to something else. Such is the case when we use such words as *that* and *this*, the former of which means something comparatively distant from, the latter something comparatively near, to the speaker. Change the positions of the two objects, and you change the word by which they are denoted. This is because there has been a change in their relation to the speaker.

So that that *relation* is an attribute, and the *this-ness* or *that-ness* (to coin a pair of new terms) of an object, is as much the same as its *nearness* or *fariness*. *This*, too, and *that* are, more or less, the equivalents *near* and *far*.

The *attributes* form a natural class, giving us—

When a state rather than an action is denoted, *Adjectives*;

When an action rather than a state is denoted, *Participles*;

When a relation rather than either a state or action is denoted, *Pronouns*.

The name of the class which contains *Substances* (to which the *Attribute* is the correlative) is the well-known and self-explaining term *Substantive*. Now—

As an *Attribute*, a Pronoun is more of an Adjective than a Substantive; whilst—

As a word, capable of being *either* a Subject or a Predicate, it is more of a Substantive than an Adjective.

How is this? The Attribute of Relation is nothing of itself. It is only what it is by means of a comparison with something else. In order to effect this comparison some *Substance* must be within the range of the speaker's ideas.

Hence, the Pronoun without being actually the name of a substance, is always suggestive of one. By being this, it takes the same place in a Proposition as a Substantive.

§ 30. Furthermore—Appellatives are of two kinds:—

Proper (or Individual), and Common (or General)—*John* and *Thomas*, &c., denote single individuals, and (so doing) are Proper (or Individual) Appellatives.

Man and *Father*, &c., denote classes of individuals, and (so doing) are Common (or General) Appellatives.

Now—all Pronouns are Proper (or Individual), rather than Common (or General). Words like *I*, *thou*, and *he*, denote single individuals, and single individuals only, as truly as do words like *John*, *Henry*, *Thomas*. So do *we*, *ye*, and *they*, plural as they are. The class they denote is a unity. It is also a class of a very different kind from that denoted by the true Common Appellatives like *man*, *father*, &c. *This* and *that*, mean the particular objects spoken of—*these* and *those* denoting a *particular* collection of them. The words *first*, *second*, *same*, *other*, *which*, have equally an individual application.

All Pronouns are Proper Appellatives. Nevertheless, they differ from those that, like *John* and *Henry*, are Substantive. How? In being variable. *John* and *Henry* mean the individuals to which they apply, as long as they retain the positive attribute of *John-ship* or *Henry-ship*.

I and *thou*—*this* and *that*—*first* and *second*—*same* and *other*—mean the objects they denote only so long as they stand in a certain relation to some other object.

A Pronoun is a *Proper*, or Individual, Appellative, because (although it may apply to any number of objects) it can only apply to one at a time. Again,—

As it can apply to objects of the most different character, provided they retain certain relations to some other object, it is a *Variable* Appellative. Finally,—

It is an *Appellative*, (and, as such, Substantial rather than Adjectival,) because its relative character *suggests* the substantive with which the comparison is made, and to which the relation attaches itself.

§ 31. Nothing but the name of a substance either really existing or capable of being perceived by the senses or conceived by the imagination, can form the subject of a proposition. This is expressed in the current grammatical definition of a substantive, as the *name of anything we can see, hear, feel, or discourse of (i. e. reason about)*.

Such substance must either possess or be without certain attributes; *e. g.* it must either be *white* or *not white*. Hence the name of any attribute of any such substance may form a predicate; *e. g.*—

Snow is white.

Soot is not white.

But we may also predicate of any substance that it may be equal to or identical with another; *e. g.*—

A man is an animal.

A bird is not a quadruped.

This shows that the name of a substance may enter into the structure of a proposition, either as subject or as predicate.

§ 32. *Adjectives*.—Every object or entity must be endowed with certain qualities or attributes, *e. g.* *snow is white, man is mortal*.

That the names of such qualities or attributes can become the predicates of propositions, has been shown above.

That the names of such attributes *cannot* be subjects, is clear. We cannot make the subject of our conversation a name that exists only as betokening an attribute.

Nothing but the name of either a quality or an entity can be either a subject or a predicate. Nothing but the name of a quality can be a predicate without being a subject also.

In the case of the Substantive the name of the Substance is *expressed*.

In the case of the Pronoun the name of the substance is implied.

§ 33. A *verb* is a name for all simple words capable of expressing the existence or non-existence of a state or of an action; and it signifies either *to be something* or *to do something*.

Nothing but a word of this kind can be at once predicate and copula. The predicate-element denotes the particular

state or action; the copula-element, its existence or non-existence, or, to speak more generally, its applicability or non-applicability to the subject.

§ 34. In order for a proposition to be simple, its terms must be simple.

The only sorts of words which can be admitted into complex terms are words which either express, 1st, the relation that *two* or more nouns bear to one another, or, 2ndly, the mode (or manner) in which states or actions take place.

And it follows from hence, that the only words admissible into a term where there is but *one* noun (or nominal element) must be words expressive of the mode (or manner) of a state or action. Words of this kind are called adverbs; because the predicate with which they combine generally coalesces with the copula, and becomes a verb.

The only other class of words must consist of those that denote the relation that one out of two or more nouns in a term bear to each other.

This explains the nature of *Adverbs* and *Prepositions*.

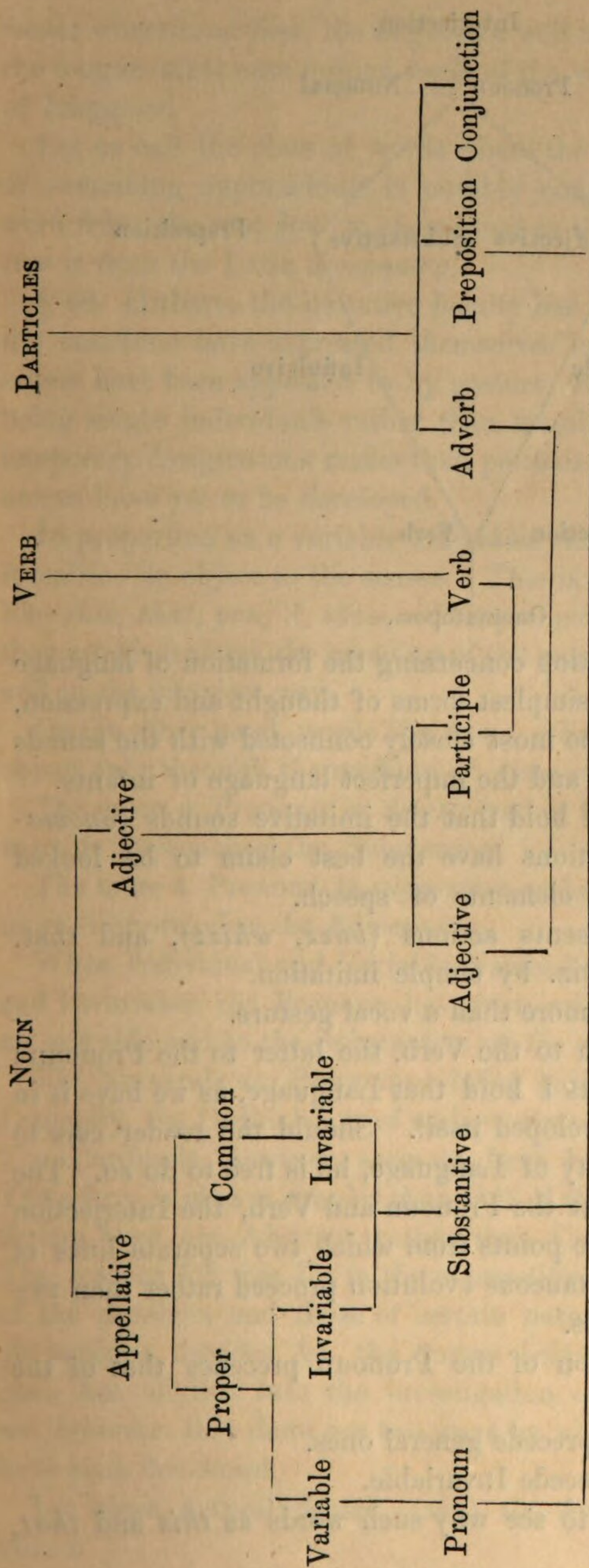
§ 35. *Conjunctions*. — When the words that find their place within the limits of a term have been exhausted, we come to those which lie beyond them—connecting two (or more) terms, but belonging to neither. They are all comprized in one class, viz. that of the *Conjunctions*.

Both *Adverbs* and *Prepositions* are *modal*, i.e. indicative of the manner in which certain elements of a term comport themselves.

Conjunctions are just as *modal* as *Adverbs* and *Prepositions*. They show the manner in which certain terms or propositions are related.

What a *Preposition* is to two *Appellatives* as parts of the same term a *Conjunction* is to two *Appellatives* as parts of different ones.

§ 36. We may now apply these remarks to the question more especially in hand, viz. the classification of the so-called *Parts of Speech*; the eschewal of the word *name*, and the separation of the *Adjective* from the *Substantive* (the *Pronouns* being interposed) being the chief characteristics of the following table.

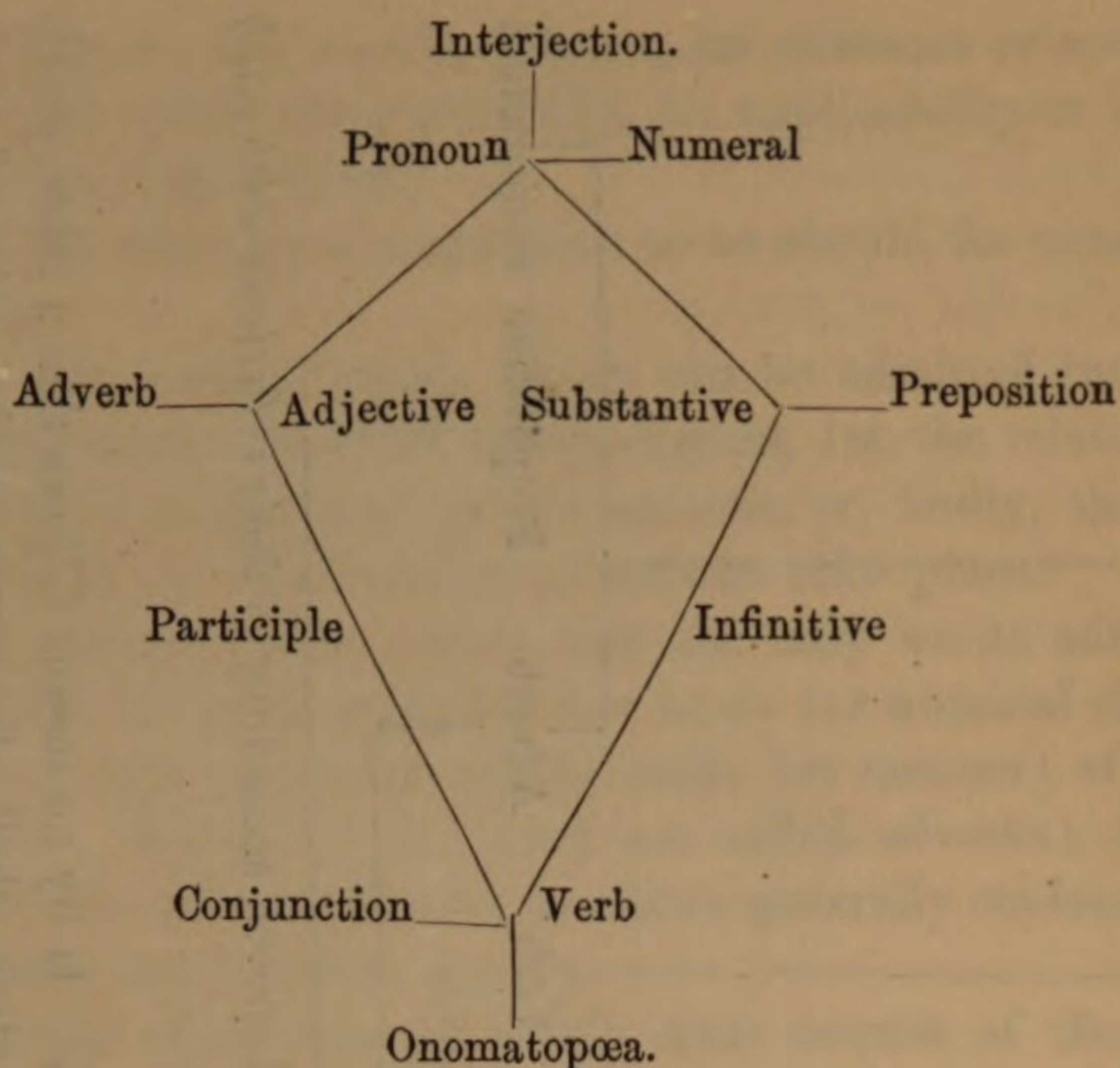


This arrangement is *systematic* or *logical*, *i.e.* it gives the parts of speech according to their *relations with each other*.

In one sense of the word it is *natural*.

§ 37. But is it so in all? This raises a fresh series of questions. It by no means follows that a table which represents the logical relations of certain classes of words to each other, shall also represent the *order of their development during the formation of language*.

For *this* I suggest the following scheme, a scheme which, at present, I must explain most briefly.



§ 38. Any speculation concerning the formation of language must begin with the simplest forms of thought and expression, and those that are the most closely connected with the sounds of the lower animals and the imperfect language of infants.

Under this view, I hold that the imitative sounds (*onomatopœa*) and interjections have the best claim to be looked upon as the earliest elements of speech.

The former represents actions (*buzz, whizz*), and that, in the rudest way, viz. by simple imitation.

The latter is little more than a vocal gesture.

The former is akin to the Verb, the latter to the Pronoun; from which two points I hold that Language, as we have it in Propositions, has developed itself. Should the reader care to talk about the Polarity of Language, he is free to do so. The fact I indicate is, that the Pronoun and Verb, the Interjection and Onomatopœa, are points from which two separate lines of concurrent and simultaneous evolution proceed rather than two extremities of a series.

§ 39. The evolution of the Pronoun precedes that of the Substantive.

Individual names precede general ones.

Variable names precede Invariable.

It is not difficult to see why such words as *this* and *that*,

words wherein, at first, the finger was well nigh as important as the tongue, must have formed some of the very earliest elements of language.

Let us call the class of words where the element of gesture, or something approaching, is notably conspicuous, *deictic*, a word from the root $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa-$ = *show*, just as the word *demonstrative* is from the Latin *demonstro*.

§ 40. Hitherto the imitative faculty has been put in action, the emotions have expressed themselves instinctively, and the senses have been appealed to by gesture, the objects dealt with being single individuals rather than members of classes, with temporary designations rather than permanent names. General names have yet to be developed.

In proportion as a variable individual designation is *deictic*, it realises its object to the senses. This is the case with words like *this, that, you, I, thou*. The particular object to which they apply explains the meaning of the word, and that *directly* and in the simplest way.

On the other hand, words like *same, other, &c.*, suggest their object only through the medium of some other one.

The more a Pronoun is *deictic* rather than *suggestive*, the more it approaches the Substantive.

The more a Pronoun is *suggestive* rather than *deictic*, the more it approaches the Adjective.

When Individual and Variable Names have become General and Invariable, the Pronoun has given origin to the Adjective on one side and to the Substantive on the other.

The Numerals are Pronouns—being individual and variable. Logically, the Ordinals are of earlier origin than the Cardinals. The Cardinals, however, seem to have been developed first. Their form is always simpler than that of the Ordinals. Nevertheless they are Abstract rather than Concrete appellatives. The reasons for this lie in the connection between the names of the numbers and those of certain natural dualisms, triads, quaternions, decades, &c., the fingers being the chief. I have gone but slightly into the investigation of this question. I see, however, that there are two ways by which a numeral may have been developed.

Let some natural pentad, (say) the *hand*, have a name.

Transfer that to the number 5. In such a case we get a cardinal number—which, abstract as it is, may have preceded the concrete ordinal 5th.

On the other hand let the fingers be used for counting, *none of them having a special name*. In this case they are only known as 1st, 2nd, 3rd, &c., and the ordinal form is the older in development as well as in logic.

Of these two methods, the former I imagine to have predominated. Hence the reversion of the logical order and the evolution of an abstract term anterior to a concrete one.

For the rest of the table the relations between the different parts of speech are those of the ordinary works on Grammar.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

II.

PHONESIS.

§ 1. *Phônêsis*, or *Fônêsis* * (*φώνησις*) is derived from the Greek word *phônê*, or *fônê* (*φώνη*), meaning *voice*. It is the name of that portion of Acoustics which, from relating to the elementary *sounds* of language, has a special application to Philology. Thus applied, it has a wide field. Sounds may be expressed by corresponding signs or *Letters*. When this is the case, *Phonesis* applies to certain points of writing as well as speaking.

It also touches the questions of *Accent* and *Quantity*, and, to a certain extent, those of *Metre* as well.

Besides the word *Phônêsis*, we have the word *Phônêtics*, and *Phônêtic*, derivatives from *Phônê* also—derivatives of the same character as *Mathematics*, *Statics*, &c. The former is a substantive equivalent in power to *Phônêsis*; the latter an adjective. We can speak of *Phônêsis*, or *Phônêtics*, being a part of Acoustics, with a special application to Grammar, and also of *Phônêtic spelling*, or the *Phônêtic principles* of language.

* In the previous edition, the main parts of this second Preliminary Dissertation belonged to the body of the work; and there they would still continue to stand were it not for the fact of their appertaining to the study of Language in general, rather than to that of the English Language in particular. Indeed, to a great extent, the consideration of the Phenomena of Articulate Sounds belongs to Human Physiology rather than to Grammar, and to Physics rather than to Human Physiology. Under a better system of instruction than we have at present, this (as well as many other subjects) will be separated from special Philology, and get taught under its proper department, as much on its own account, as on account of its value as a preliminary to aught else.

§ 2. Treated as a part of Physics, the formation and nature of the Articulate Sounds of which Human Speech consists, is a question of equal simplicity with one concerning the nature and formation of the sounds of a musical instrument; and its exposition is just as capable of being made clear and lucid by means of an appropriate nomenclature, and the apposite illustrations, as that of the sounds of a harp or an organ. Even as the eye is an optical, so is the organ of voice an acoustic, instrument. It is only when we investigate the forces by which this instrument is put in action, that the question, ceasing to be physical, becomes one of Physiology.

§ 3. As such it has its application to Language.

As long as Language remains unwritten this application is simple and uncomplicated.

With writing, however, or the representation of sounds by signs, difficulties begin. There is a little to learn—much to unlearn.

Before any exhibition that would suit a grammarian of the fundamental articulations of Language can be attempted, a whole series of misapprehensions has to be guarded against.

§ 4. *In the comparison of sounds the ear is liable to be misled by the eye.* The syllables *ka* and *ga* are similar syllables. The vowel is in each the same, and the consonant is but slightly different. Now the words *ka* and *ga* are more allied to each other than the words *ka* and *ba*, *ka* and *ta*, &c., because the consonantal sounds of *k* and *g* are more allied than the consonantal sounds of *k* and *b*, *k* and *t*.

Comparing the syllables *ga* and *ka*, we see the affinity between the sounds, and we see it at the first glance. It lies on the surface, and strikes the ear at once.

It is, however, very evident that ways might be devised, or might arise from accident, of concealing the likeness between the two sounds, or, at any rate, of making it less palpable. One of such ways would be a faulty mode of spelling. If instead of *ga* we wrote *gha*, the following would be the effect: the syllable would appear less simple than it really was; it would look as if it consisted of three parts instead of two, and consequently its affinity to *ka* would seem less than it really

was. It is perfectly true that a little consideration would tell us that, as long as the sound remained the same, the relation of the two syllables remained the same; and that, if the contrary appeared to be the case, the ear was misled by the eye. Still a little consideration would be required. Now in the English language we have, amongst others, the following modes of spelling that have a tendency to mislead:—

The sounds of *ph* and of *f*, in *Philip* and *fillip*, differ to the eye, but to the ear are identical. Here a difference is simulated.

The sounds of *th* in *thin*, and of *th* in *thine*, differ to the ear, but to the eye seem the same. Here a difference is concealed.

These last sounds appear to the eye to be double or compound. This is not the case; they are simple single sounds, and not the sounds of *t* followed by *h*, as the spelling leads us to imagine.

§ 5. *Besides improper modes of spelling, there is another way of concealing the true nature of sounds.* If I say that *ka* and *ga* are allied, the alliance is manifest; since I compare the actual sounds. If I say *ka* and *gee* are allied, the alliance is concealed; since I compare, not the actual sounds, but only the names of the letters that express those sounds. Now in the English language we have, amongst others, the following names of letters that have a tendency to mislead:—

The sounds *fa* and *va* are allied. The names of *eff* and *vee* conceal this alliance.

The sounds *sa* and *za* are allied. The names *ess* and *zed* conceal the alliance.

In comparing sounds it is advisable to have nothing to do either with letters or names of letters. Compare the sounds themselves.

In many cases it is sufficient, in comparing consonants, to compare syllables that contain those consonants; *e. g.* to determine the relations of *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, we say *pa*, *ba*, *fa*, *va*; or for those of *s* and *z*, we say *sa*, *za*. Here we compare *syllables*, each consonant being followed by a vowel. At times this is insufficient. We are often obliged to isolate the consonant from its vowel, and bring our organs to utter (or half

utter) the imperfect sounds of *p'*, *b'*, *t'*, *d'*. In doing this we isolate the consonant.

These two points are essential preliminaries to the investigation of the nature of articulate sounds. If we take our notion of *sounds* from the way in which they are represented to the *eye*, we shall err; and unless we can reduce a combination of sounds to its simplest elements we shall be unable to make the necessary observations and comparisons.

§ 6. The history of an articulate sound is the history of a column of air, thrown into certain vibrations by means of a special organ, and acted upon during its passage through certain cavities by a certain apparatus of stops.

The cavities in question are the mouth and nostrils.

The stops are the tongue, lips, teeth, and soft palate.

The special organ which effects the vocal vibrations is the larynx.

The air is the air of our respiration.

This air may find its way through the mouth, nostrils, and larynx in two directions; being either *inspired* from the atmosphere to the lungs, or *expired* from the lungs to the atmosphere.

When *inspired* the passage is as follows—lips (or nostrils), larynx, lungs; when *expired*, the converse, or lungs, larynx, lips (or nostrils).

During the passage of air, whether *expired* or *inspired*, the parts through which it passes may be either active or passive.

When passive, there is simply so much breath, when active, voice.

It is only *expired air* that is available for the purposes of articulation. The column that we draw *in* is as truly a column of air as that which we breathe out, passing through the same cavities, and in contact with the same stops. Its direction, however, is different. Instead of beginning with the lungs and larynx, and ending with the mouth (or nostrils), it begins with the mouth (or nostrils) and ends with the larynx and lungs.

§ 7. A column of air *expired*, and passed through the larynx, reaches the back parts of the mouth.

Here its passage diverges—

a. If the soft palate be drawn up, so as to close the opening of the posterior nares, the line is from the larynx to the mouth, and escapes at the lips. But—

b. If the soft palate be depressed, the lips closed, and the passage through the mouth obstructed, the line is from the posterior nares to the anterior, and the escape is through the nose.

The line, then, of a column of *ex*pired air, after the passage of the larynx, is either *oral*, through the *mouth*, or *nasal*, through the *nose*.

When the passage is absolutely suspended by the close contact of (say) the two lips, or the tongue and front part of the palate, the action is *valvular*, *i. e.* is the effect of a valve, or stop, the *ex*-piration being absolutely checked, or arrested.

When the obstruction of the passage is only partial (as it is when we say *oo*), and (as such) is effected by merely bringing the walls of the cavity in contiguity with each other, the action is *parietal* (from *paries*, *pariet*-is = *a wall*). The tongue, cheeks, and lips are the *walls* of the oral cavity.

The *oral* column is subject to both the *parietal* and *valvular* kinds of action; the *nasal* to the *parietal* only. We cannot close the nostrils, as we can the lips, by the action of their own muscles. Neither is there such an organ as the tongue in the nose. If there were, we might form as many sounds through that organ as we do through our mouth. As it is, however, all that we can do with a column of air passing through the nostrils is to narrow its line of exit by contracting the passage. The nasal and palatal muscles allow us to do this. They allow us to bring the walls of the nasal cavity a little nearer each other, or to separate them a little further from each other. They do not, however, allow us to close the passage altogether, and so suspend or arrest the *ex*piration as we can do with the mouth.

For the purposes of speech the oral column of *ex*pired air is of far greater importance than the nasal. Nevertheless, the latter must be borne in mind.

§ 8. *Vowels and Consonants*.—When the column is *oral*, and the action on it *parietal*, the result is a *vowel* sound, or a *vowel*.

When the column is *oral* and the action *valvular*, the result is a *consonantal* sound, or a *consonant*.

To illustrate this, let any of the *vowels* (for instance, the *a* in *father*) be sounded. The lips, the tongue, and the parts within the throat remain in the same position; and as long as these remain in the same position the sound is that of the vowel under consideration. Let, however, a change take place in the position of the organs of sound; let, for instance, the lips be closed, or the tongue be applied to the front part of the mouth: in that case the vowel sound is cut short. It undergoes a change. It terminates in a sound that is different, according to the state of those organs whereof the position has been changed. If, on the vowel in question, the lips be closed, there then arises an imperfect sound of *b* or *p*. If, on the other hand, the tongue be applied to the front teeth, or to the fore part of the palate, the sound is one (more or less imperfect) of *t* or *d*.

It is an essential condition in the formation of a vowel sound, that the passage of the breath be *parietal*. In the sound of the *l* in *lo* (isolated from its vowel) the sound is as continuous as it is with the *a* in *fate*. Between, however, the consonant *l* and the vowel *a* there is this difference: with *a*, the passage of the breath is wholly uninterrupted; with *l*, the tongue is applied to the palate, breaking, arresting, or *partially* interrupting the passage of the breath.

The primary division of our articulate sounds is into *vowels* and *consonants*. The latter are again divided into *liquids* (*l, m, n, r*) and *mutés* (*p, b, f, v, t, d, k, g, s, z, &c.*).

In *parietal* action there are many degrees. The parts may be as widely separated as in the utterance of the *a* in *father*, or they may closely approximate as in that of the *oo* in *cool*. They may, also, be in any intermediate condition.

Valvular action may be either perfect or imperfect. It is perfect when we pronounce the sound of *p*. Until the lips are unclosed there is no sound at all. On the contrary, in that of *m*, though the lips are closed the sound is going on all the while.

§ 9. The nasal* sounds are *vowels* so far as the actions that form them are *parietal*.

The *ng* in *king* is the English representative of this class.

They are also *vowels* in some of their other properties—*e. g.* they can form syllables by themselves. In the Chinese, such syllables actually exist, constituting monosyllabic words.

They are not, however, *vowels* in respect to their power of combining with other sounds; *e. g.* *b- ng* is not a syllable in the way that *ba* or *bo* is one.

Nevertheless, the nasal sounds are essentially *vowels*, though whether it may be convenient to call them so is another question. The details of their mechanism and classification have yet to be studied, and, as they are rare in our own language, it is not likely that any Englishman will be the successful investigator. The French and the Portuguese have the best means of studying them. Neither have the muscles of the *nares* and soft palate been examined with any view towards the phonesis of what we have called the nasal passage.

Nevertheless, the *ng* in *king* is more of a vowel than aught else.

§ 10. *Simple aspirate* — H. — When air passes through *both* the mouth (or nostrils) and the larynx simply as so much ordinary breath, the result is the sound expressed by *h*. Now, though *h* is a letter, the sound it indicates is not a true articulation. It is simply so much ordinary breath *exspired*.*

§ 11. *Surds (sharps) and sonants (flats)*. — When air passes through the *larynx* simply as so much ordinary breath, but is acted upon during its passage through the mouth (or nostrils), the resulting articulation is a *surd* sound. This is the case with the sounds of *p, f, t, k, s*. Isolate them from their vowels—pronounce them. They are *whispers*.

Do the same with *b, v, d, g, z*. The sound is that of the voice at its ordinary pitch. Over and above the action of the parts within the mouth, there has been an action of the larynx, an action by means of which the column of air that, in the

* I have some time speculated upon the so-called *click* of the Hot-tentot language being an ordinary *h* inspired. If it be so, it makes nothing against the assertion of § 6, to the effect that all articulate sounds were *exspired*. All that it proves (as, indeed, is proved by the ordinary *h*) is, that language contains a small proportion of inarticulate elements.

case of *p*, *f*, *t*, &c., was ordinary breath, was thrown into certain vibrations—made *sonant*, so to say.

§ 12. *Continuous and explosive articulations*.—Close the lips and utter the sound of *p*. Press the tongue against the roots of the teeth and say *t*. In each of these cases the action is not only valvular but *perfectly* valvular, *i. e.* the breath is absolutely and wholly arrested as long as the parts remain in either of the aforesaid positions. It is only when the air escapes that the sound is formed.

Sounds formed by *perfect* valvular actions are *explosive*.

Press the upper front teeth on the lower lip, and sound either *f* or *v*. The air escapes even whilst the parts in question are in contact. The action is valvular, but only *imperfectly* so.

Sounds formed by *imperfect* valvular actions are *continuous*. The sounds of *f* and *v* can be indefinitely prolonged.

§ 13. All *Vowels* are *continuous* and *sonant* (*flat*) — the action that forms them being *parietal* rather than *valvular*.

All *Liquids* are *continuous* and *sonant*—the action that forms them being valvular, but *imperfectly* valvular.*

Of the *Mutes* we may predicate that one-half of them is *surd*, whilst the other half is *sonant*. Some, too, are *continuous*, some *explosive*.

Such are the chief preliminaries to the Classification of Articulate Sounds.

No single language contains all of them. The English wants several; being, however, more deficient in the vowels than the consonants.

§ 14. *System of Vowels*. — For the sake of making certain sequences clearer, bear in mind the existence, in languages other than the English, of the following vowel sounds:—

The *é fermé*, of the French.—This is a sound allied to, but

* In Liquids the column of air, although checked, is *retro-verted*, *i. e.* it escapes, during the valvular action, at some point *behind* the valve—*e. g.* with *m* the closure of the lips is complete. The air, however, escapes by the nose.

different from, the *a* in *fate*, and the *ee* in *feet*. It is intermediate to the two.

The *u* of the French, *ü* of the Germans, *y* of the Danes.—This sound is intermediate to the *ee* in *feet*, and the *oo* in *book*.

The *o chiuso*, of the Italians.—Intermediate to the *o* in *note*, and the *oo* in *book*.

For these sounds we have the following sequences: *a* in *fate*, *é fermé*, *ee* in *feet*, *ü übel* (German), *oo* in *book*, *o chiuso*, *o* in *note*. And this is the true order of alliance among the vowels; the *a* in *fate*, and the *o* in *note*, being the extremes: the other sounds being transitional or intermediate. As the English orthography is at once singular and faulty, it exhibits the relationship but imperfectly.

§ 15. *The system of the Mutes*.—Preliminary to the consideration of the system of the mutes, let it be observed:—

1. That the *th* in *thin* is a simple single sound, different from the *th* in *thine*, and that it may be expressed by the sign β .
2. That the *th* in *thine* is a simple single sound, different from the *th* in *thin*, and that it may be expressed by the sign δ .
3. That the *sh* in *shine* is a simple single sound, and that it may be expressed by the sign σ (Greek $\sigma\tilde{\iota}\gamma\mu\alpha$).
4. That the *z* in *azure*, *glazier* (French *j*), is a simple single sound, and that it may be expressed by the sign ξ (Greek $\xi\tilde{\eta}\tau\alpha$).
5. That in the Laplandic, and possibly in many other languages, there are two peculiar sounds, different from any in English, German, and French, &c., and that they may respectively be expressed by the sign κ and the sign γ (Greek $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\pi\alpha$ and $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha$).

With these preliminary notices we may exhibit the system of the sixteen mutes; having previously determined the meaning of two fresh terms, and bearing in mind what was said concerning the words *surd* and *sonant*, *continuous* and *explosive*.

§ 16. *Lene and aspirate*.—From the sound of *p* in *pat*, the sound *f* in *fat* differs in a certain degree. This difference

is not owing to a difference in their sharpness or flatness. Each is sharp. Neither is it owing to a difference in their continuity or explosiveness; although, at the first glance, such might appear to be the case. *F* is continuous, whilst *p* is explosive. *S*, however, is continuous, and *s*, in respect to the difference under consideration, is classed not with *f* the continuous sound but with *p* the explosive one. *P* is called *lene*, *f* is called *aspirate*.

As *f* is to *p* so is *v* to *b*.

As *v* is to *b* so is *þ* to *t*.

As *þ* is to *t* so is *ð* to *d*.

As *ð* is to *d* so is *κ* to *k*.

As *κ* is to *k* so is *γ* to *g*.

As *γ* is to *g* so is *σ* to *s*.

As *σ* is to *s* so is *ξ* to *z*.

Hence *p, b, t, d, k, g, s, z*, are *lene*; *f, v, þ, ð, κ, γ, σ, ξ* are *aspirate*. Also *p, f, t, þ, k, κ, s, σ*, are *sharp*, whilst *b, v, d, ð, g, γ, z, ξ* are *flat*; so that there is a double series of relationship capable of being expressed as follows:—

<i>Lene.</i>		<i>Aspirate.</i>		<i>Surd.</i>		<i>Sonant.</i>	
<i>Sonant.</i>	<i>Surd.</i>	<i>Sonant.</i>	<i>Surd.</i>	<i>Lene.</i>	<i>Aspirate.</i>	<i>Lene.</i>	<i>Aspirate.</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>þ</i>	<i>ð</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>þ</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ð</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>κ</i>	<i>γ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>κ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>γ</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>σ</i>	<i>ξ</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>σ</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ξ</i>

Lene and *Aspirate* are the Latin equivalents to the Greek words *ψίλον* (*psilon*) and *δάσιν* (*dasy*) respectively. The Latin language, wanting both the sound of the Greek *theta*, and the sign to express it (*θ*), rendered it by *th*. This orthography engendered the false notion that *θ* differed from *τ* by the addition of the aspirate *h*. To this I add another process, a process akin to the one which converts *asparagus* into *sparrow-grass*. The Latin for *δάσιν* was *asper*.

All the so-called aspirates are *continuous*; and, with the exception of *s* and *z*, all the lenes are *explosive*.

I believe that in the fact of each mute appearing in a four-fold form (*i. e.* *surd* or *sonant*, *lene* or *aspirate*), lies the essential character of the mutes as opposed to the liquids.

§ 17. *Y* and *w*.—These sounds, respectively intermediate to *γ* and *i* (the *ee* in *feet*), and to *v* and *u* (*oo* in *book*), form a transition from the vowels to the consonants.

§ 18. The series *p* and *k* have this peculiarity.—They are connected with the vowels through *w* and *u* (*oo*), and through *y* and *i* (*ee*) respectively.

§ 19. The French word *roi*, and the English words *oil*, *house*, are specimens of a fresh class of articulations; viz. of compound vowel sounds or diphthongs. The diphthong *oi* is the vowel *o* modified, *plus* the semivowel *y* modified. The diphthongal sound in *roi* is the vowel *o* modified, *plus* the semivowel *w* modified. In *roi* the semivowel element precedes, in *oil* it follows. In *roi* it is the semivowel allied to series *p*; in *oil* it is the semivowel allied to series *k*.

§ 20. *Chest*, *jest*.—Here we have compound consonantal sounds. The *ch* in *chest* is *t + sh* (σ), the *j* in *jest* is *d + zh* (ζ). I believe that in these combinations one or both the elements, viz. *t* and *sh*, *d* and *zh*, are modified; but I am unable to state the exact nature of this modification.

§ 21. Other terms, chiefly relating to the vowels, have still to be explained. The *é* of the French has been called *fermé*, or *close* (Italian, *chiuso*). Its opposite, the *a* in *fate*, is *open*.

Compared with *a* in *fate*, and the *o* in *note*, *a* in *father*, and the *aw* in *bawl*, are *broad*, the vowels of *note* and *fate* being *slender*.

In *fat*, the vowel is, according to common parlance, *short*; in *fate*, it is *long*. Here we have the introduction of two fresh terms. For the words *long* and *short*, I would fain substitute *independent* and *dependent*. If from the word *fate* I separate the final consonantal sound, the syllable *fa* remains. In this syllable the *a* has precisely the sound that it had before. It remains unaltered. The removal of the consonant has in nowise modified its sound or power. It is not so with the vowel in the word *fat*. If from this I remove the consonant following, and so leave the *a* at the end of the syllable, instead of in the middle, I must do one of two things: I must sound it either as the *a* in *fate*, or else as the *a* in *father*. Its (so-called) short sound it cannot retain, unless it be sup-

ported by a consonant following. For this reason it is *dependent*.

The same is the case with all the so-called short sounds, viz. the *e* in *bed*, *i* in *fit*, *u* in *bull*, *o* in *not*, *u* in *but*.

To the preceding remarks the following statements may be added.

1. That the words *independent* and *dependent* correspond with the terms *perfect* and *imperfect* of the Hebrew grammarians.

2. That the Hebrew grammars give us the truest notions respecting these particular properties of vowels.

The following sentences are copied from Lee's *Hebrew Grammar*, Art. 33, 34 :—"By *perfect vowels* is meant, vowels which, being preceded by a consonant" (*or without being so preceded*), "will constitute a complete syllable, as אַ *bā*. By *imperfect vowels* is meant those vowels which are not generally" (*never*) "found to constitute syllables without either the addition of a consonant or of an accent. Such syllables, therefore, must be either like אַב *bad*, or אַ *bā*, i. e. followed by a consonant, or accompanied by an accent."

§ 22. It is not every vowel that is susceptible of every modification. *I* (*ee*) and *u* (*oo*) are incapable of becoming broad. *E* in *bed* (as I have convinced myself), although both broad and slender, is incapable of becoming independent. For the *u* in *but*, and for the *ö* of certain foreign languages, I have no satisfactory systematic position.

Vowel System.

Broad.		Slender.	
Independent.		Independent.	Dependent.
<i>a</i> , in <i>father</i> . . .		<i>a</i> , in <i>fate</i> . . .	<i>a</i> , in <i>fat</i> .
.		<i>e</i> , <i>fermé</i> , <i>long</i> . . .	<i>e</i> <i>fermé</i> , <i>short</i> .
<i>e</i> , in <i>meine</i> , Germ. . . .			<i>e</i> , in <i>bed</i> .
.		<i>ee</i> , in <i>feet</i> . . .	<i>i</i> , in <i>pit</i> .
.		<i>ü</i> of the German, <i>long</i>	the same, <i>short</i> .
.		<i>oo</i> , in <i>book</i>	<i>ou</i> , in <i>could</i> .
.		<i>o chiuso</i> . . .	the same, <i>short</i> .
<i>aw</i> , in <i>bawl</i> . . .		<i>o</i> , in <i>note</i> . . .	<i>o</i> , in <i>note</i> .

System of Consonants.

<i>Liquids.</i>	<i>Mutes.</i>				<i>Semivowels.</i>
	<i>Lene.</i>		<i>Aspirate.</i>		
	<i>Sharp.</i>	<i>Flat.</i>	<i>Sharp.</i>	<i>Flat.</i>	
<i>m</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>w</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>þ</i>	<i>ð</i>	.
<i>l</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>γ</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>σ</i>	<i>ζ</i>	.

Concerning the vowel system, I venture no assertion. The consonantal system I conceive to have been exhibited above in its whole fulness. The number of mutes, *specifically* distinct, I consider to be sixteen and no more: the number of liquids, four. What, then, are the powers of the numerous letters in alphabets like those of Arabia and Armenia? What is the German *ch*, and Irish *gh*? *Varieties* of one or other of the sounds exhibited above, and not articulations specifically distinct.

§ 23. *Difference between a Connection in Phonetics and a Connection in Grammar.*—It is evident that between sounds like *b* and *v*, *s* and *z*, there is a connection in *Phonetics*. Now in the grammar of languages there is often a change, or a permutation of letters: *e. g.* in the words *tooth*, *teeth*, the vowel, in *price*, *prize*, the consonant, is changed. Here there is a connection in *Grammar*.

That the letters most closely allied in phonetics should be most frequently interchanged in grammar, is what, on *à priori* grounds, we most naturally are led to expect. And that such is *often* the case, the study of languages tells us. That, however, it is always so, would be a hasty and an erroneous assertion. The Greek language changes *p* into *f*. Here the connection in phonetics and the connection in language closely coincide. The Welsh language changes *p* into *m*. Here the connection in phonetics and the connection in language do *not* closely coincide.

§ 24. *Of certain Combinations of Articulate Sounds.*—Certain combinations of articulate sounds are incapable of being pronounced. The following rule is one that, in the forthcoming pages, will frequently be referred to. *Two (or more) mutes, of different degrees of sharpness and flatness,*

are incapable of coming together in the same syllable. For instance, *b, v, d, g, z, &c.* being flat, and *p, f, t, k, s, &c.* being sharp, such combinations as *abt, avt, apd, afd, agt, akd, atz, ads, &c.*, are unpronounceable. *Spelt*, indeed, they may be; but attempts at pronunciation end in a *change* of the combination. In this case either the flat letter is changed to its sharp equivalent (*b* to *p*, *d* to *t*, &c.) or *vice versâ* (*p* to *b*, *t* to *d*). The combinations *abt*, and *agt*, to be pronounced, must become either *apt* or *abd*, or else *akt* or *agd*.

For determining which of the two letters shall be changed, in other words, whether it shall be the first that accommodates itself to the second, or the second that accommodates itself to the first, there are no general rules. This is settled by the particular habit of the language in consideration.

The word *mutes* in the second sentence of this section must be dwelt on. It is only with the *mutes* that there is an impossibility of pronouncing the heterogeneous combinations above mentioned. The liquids and the vowels are flat; but the liquids and vowels, although flat, may be followed by a sharp consonant. If this were not the case, the combinations *ap, at, alp, alt, &c.* would be unpronounceable.

The semivowels also, although flat, admit of being followed by a sharp consonant.

§ 25. *Double consonants rare.*—It cannot be too clearly understood that in words like *pitted, stabbing, massy, &c.* there is no real reduplication of the sounds of *t, b, and s*, respectively. Between the words *pitted* (as with the small-pox) and *pitied* (as being an object of pity) there is a difference in spelling only. In speech the words are identical. *The reduplication of the consonant is in English, and the generality of languages, a conventional mode of expressing upon paper the shortness (dependence) of the vowel that precedes.*

Real reduplications of consonants, *i. e.* reduplications of their *sound*, are, in all languages, extremely rare. I am fully aware of certain statements made respecting the Lap and Fin languages, viz. that doubled consonants are, in them, of common occurrence. Notwithstanding this, I have an impression that it is generally under one condition that true reduplication takes place. In compound and derived words,

where the original root *ends*, and the superadded affix *begins* with the same letter, there is a reduplication of the sound, and not otherwise. In the word *soulless*, the *l* is doubled to the ear as well as to the eye; and it is a false pronunciation to call it *souless* (*soless*). In the *Deformed Transformed* it is made to rhyme with *no less*, improperly.

“Clay, not dead but soulless,
Though no mortal man would choose thee,
An immortal no less
Deigns not to refuse thee.”

In the following words, all of which are compounds, we have true specimens of the doubled consonant.

<i>n</i>	is doubled in	<i>unnatural, innate, oneness.</i>
<i>l</i>	—	<i>soulless, civil-list, palely.</i>
<i>k</i>	—	<i>book-case.</i>
<i>t</i>	—	<i>seaport-town.</i>

It must not, however, be concealed, that, in the mouths even of correct speakers, one of the double sounds is often dropped.

§ 26. *True aspirates rare.* — The criticism applied to words like *pitted*, &c., applies also to words like *Philip*, *thin*, *thine*, &c. There is therein no sound of *h*. How the so-called aspirates differ from their corresponding lenes has not yet been determined. That it is *not* by the addition of *h* is evident. *Ph* and *th* are conventional modes of spelling simple single sounds which might better be expressed by simple single signs.

In our own language the *true* aspirates, like the true reduplications, are found only in compound words; and there they are often slurred in the pronunciation.

We find *p* and *h* in the words *haphazard*, *upholder*.

—	<i>b</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>abhorrent, cub-hunting.</i>
—	<i>f</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>knife-handle, offhand.</i>
—	<i>v</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>stave-head.</i>
—	<i>d</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>adhesive, childhood.</i>
—	<i>t</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>nuthook.</i>
—	<i>th</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>withhold.</i>
—	<i>k</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>inkhorn, bakehouse.</i>
—	<i>g</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>gig-horse.</i>

We find *s* and *h* in the words *race-horse*, *falsehood*.

—	<i>z</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>exhibit</i> , <i>exhort</i> .
—	<i>r</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>perhaps</i> .
—	<i>l</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>well-head</i> , <i>foolhardy</i> .
—	<i>m</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>Amherst</i> .
—	<i>n</i> and <i>h</i>	—	<i>unhinge</i> , <i>inherent</i> , <i>unhappy</i> .

§. 27. *On the formation of syllables*.—In respect to the formation of syllables, I am aware of no more than one point that requires any especial consideration.

In certain words, of more than one syllable, it is difficult to say to which syllable an intervening consonant belongs. For instance, does the *v* in *river*, and the *e* in *fever*, belong to the first or the second syllable? Are the words to be divided thus, *ri-ver*, *fe-ver*? or thus, *riv-er*, *fev-er*?

The solution of the question lies by no means on the surface.

In the first place, the case is capable of being viewed in two points of view—an etymological and a phonetic one.

That the *c* and *r* in *become*, *berhymed*, &c. belong to the second syllable, we determine at once by taking the words to pieces; whereby we get the words *come* and *rhymed* in an isolated independent form. But this fact, although it settles the point in etymology, leaves it as it was in phonetics; since it in no wise follows, that, because the *c* in the *simple* word *come* is exclusively attached to the letter that follows it, it is, in the *compound* word *become*, exclusively attached to it also.

To the following point of structure in the consonantal sounds the reader's attention is particularly directed.

1. Let the vowel *a* (as in *fate*) be sounded.—2. Let it be followed by the consonant *p*, so as to form the syllable *āp*. To form the sound of *p*, it will be found that the lips close on the sound of *a*, and arrest it. Now, if the lips be left to themselves they will not *remain* closed on the sound, but will open again, in a slight degree indeed, but in a degree sufficient to cause a kind of vibration, or, at any rate, to allow an escape of the remainder of the current of breath by which the sound was originally formed. To re-open in a slight degree is the natural tendency of the lips in the case exhibited above.

Now, by an effort, let this tendency to re-open be coun-

teracted. Let the remaining current of breath be cut short. We have, then, only this, viz. so much of the syllable $\bar{a}p$ as can be formed by the *closure* of the lips. All that portion of it that is caused by their re-opening is deficient. The resulting sound seems truncated, cut short, or incomplete. It is the sound of p , *minus* the remnant of breath. All of the sound, p that is now left is formed, not by the *escape* of the breath but by the *arrest* of it.

The p in $\bar{a}p$ is a *final* sound. With initial sounds the case is different. Let the lips be *closed*, and let an attempt be made to form the syllable pa by suddenly opening them. The sound appears incomplete; but its incompleteness is at the *beginning* of the sound, and not at the end of it. In the natural course of things there would have been a current of breath *preceding*, and this current would have given a vibration, now wanting. All the sound that is formed here is formed, not by the *arrest* of breath, but by the *escape* of it.

I feel that this account of the mechanism of the apparently simple sound p , labours under all the difficulties that attend the *description* of a sound; and for this reason I again request the reader to satisfy himself either of its truth or its inaccuracy, before he proceeds to the conclusions that will be drawn from it.

The account, however, being recognised, we have in the current natural sound of p two elements:—

1. That formed by the current of air and the closure of the lips, as in ap . This may be called the sound of breath *arrested*.

2. That formed by the current of air and the opening of the lips, as in pa . This may be called the sound of breath *escaping*.

Now what may be said of p may be said of all the other consonants, the words *tongue*, *teeth*, &c. being used instead of *lips*, according to the case.

Let the sound of breath *arrested* be expressed by π , and that of breath *escaping* be expressed by ϖ , the two together form the current natural sound p ($\varpi + \pi = p$).

Thus ap (as quoted above) is $p - \varpi$, or π ; whilst pa (sounded similarly) is $p - \pi$, or ϖ .

In the formation of syllables, I consider that the sound of breath arrested belongs to the first, and the sound of breath escaping to the second syllable; that each sound being expressed by a separate sign, the word *happy* is divided thus, *haπ-ɰy*; and that such is the case with all consonants between two syllables. The *whole* consonant belongs neither to one syllable nor the other. Half of it belongs to each. The reduplication of the *p* in *happy*, the *t* in *pitted*, &c., is a mere point of spelling, of which more will be said in the chapter on orthography.

The following extract from Richardson is to the same effect, being independent evidence to the accuracy of the doctrine respecting what may be called the *distribution of a single consonant between two syllables*:—"Each consonant letter requires, for its complete utterance, a breathing precedent, a closure or collision of some of the organs of speech, &c., and an aperture or separation of them with a breathing subsequent. Take, for instance, the labials B and M; call the first (with the vowel preposed, áb, éb, ám, ém), the announced sound; call the second (with the vowel subjoined, bà, bè, mà, mè), the enounced sound; and to the two we may give the name of conunciate ábbà."—*Dictionary of the English Language.—Preliminary Essay*, p. 6.

Further notices of the extent to which a consonant may belong to two syllables may be found in Jobert's *Colloquial French*.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

III.

ON THE EARLY GERMAN AREA.

§ 1. THE notices of the tribes and languages allied to the English spoken in and spread over the different parts of Germany, as they occur in the body of the present work, are more or less fragmentary and incidental. Where a particular population, or a particular form of speech illustrated any portion of the archæology of the English Language it was mentioned—only, however, as occasion required. No full and systematic view of the German family in general was attempted. Such a view, however, is by no means unnecessary.

Whether such a general view should form part and parcel of a treatise so special as the present is another question, inasmuch as archæological, philological, and ethnological treatises on things German belong to the history of Germany rather than to that of England. Neither are the ordinary continental histories by any means wanting in them. On the contrary, they are both numerous and elaborate, no care and no learning being spared in their construction. It may also be added that their details are pretty generally recognised.

To this general recognition the present writer takes such grave exceptions as to make his view of the early German history incompatible with that of the most distinguished investigators of Germany, and to this difference of opinion, rather than to any want of able dissertations on the subject, he refers the necessity of a preliminary dissertation like the present.

§ 2. The area usually assigned to the Germans of the dawn of history is that of the *Germania* of Tacitus; and although, in some cases it is added to, and in others it is diminished, it

is safe to say that in nine cases out of ten the current doctrine recognises it.

The area assigned to the Germans of the dawn of *history* by the present writer is that of the *Germania* of Tacitus with no additions whatever, and with the vast deduction of all the parts east of the Elbe, and south of the Neckar.

The details of this doctrine, as well as its chief proof, will appear after we have considered—

1. Firstly. The area of the *Germania* of Tacitus.

2. Secondly. The chief additions to it—for it may be premised that, though able and authoritative scholars have *added* to the area in question, the *subtractions* from it have been comparatively unimportant. None, at least, have been so great as those now suggested.

§ 3. 1. *The area of the Germania of Tacitus.*—The Germany of Tacitus extends from the German Ocean and the Rhine on one side to the parts about the amber-country of Courland on the north, and as far as Gallicia on the south; to each of which countries we have special allusions. For the intermediate portion of Europe, the frontier is carried at least as far as the most eastern of these points; and possibly further. With these limits it includes Holland, part of Belgium, Westphalia, Hanover, Oldenburgh, Rhenish-Prussia, Franconia, Thuringia, Bavaria, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Pomerania, East and West Prussia, Saxony, Silesia, Bohemia, and Poland.

Within this area lie the populations already given to the Saxon and Frisian areas, and, besides these, several others of equal and, perhaps, greater importance—*e. g.* the Chatti, the Suevi (already mentioned), the Hermunduri, the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Lygii, &c.

Whatever may be the case with the more obscure and less influential writers, I cannot find that either Zeus, Grimm, or any of the authors whose opinion approaches theirs in value, have eliminated any of the above-named populations from the German stock.

§ 4. On the contrary—the latter has devoted a considerable portion of his *Deutsche-Sprache* to justify the addition of the ancient Daci, Getæ, and Thracians to that class. If so, the

Danubian Principalities—Wallachia and Moldavia—must be added to the already ample area.

The validity of the addition depends entirely upon the special evidence upon which it rests—upon the special evidence upon which it rests rather than any *à priori* views of its probability or improbability. The *Germania* of Tacitus is a large area—very large. But this is no reason against its being larger. It is by no means necessary that the whole of a given ethnological superficies should be known to the writer who describes it. When Tacitus writes that Germania was separated from Dacia and Sarmatia, *montibus aut mutuo metu*, his language is deficient in precision, and any one who holds that Germans, overlooked by the historian, may have occupied districts either to the North or to the East of the frontiers ascribed to the Dacians or the Sarmatians, holds nothing unreasonable. They may have been more German in reality than in appearance. Or, their occupancies may have only indented, or interrupted the German outline, in which case Germans might re-appear elsewhere, *e. g.* lower down on the Danube, or further north on (even) the Dnieper. There is nothing unreasonable in all this. The German area may easily have been *larger* than Tacitus makes it; and all that is expected from the advocate of this view is that, by a parity of reasoning, he should concede, to the investigator of another kind, the equal likelihood of its having been *smaller*. In other words, the fallibility or infallibility of his authority must be equitably dealt with, and errors on the side of excess be put upon the same level as errors on the side of deficiency.

At present, it is sufficient to call the doctrine by which the Dacians, Thracians, and Getæ are added to the German stock—the *Getic hypothesis*—the criticism upon it being reserved, saving only the remark that all the exceptions that lie against the extent given to the German area by Tacitus, lie still more gravely against the additions to it suggested by the *Getic hypothesis*.

§ 5. The most general expression of the ground upon which these exceptions are taken is the statement that the evidence of Tacitus, as ordinarily interpreted, is incompatible with the ethnological conditions of two-thirds of what he calls *Germania* at the beginning of the truly historical period, a state-

ment which implies that the period of Tacitus for the parts in question was not truly historical.

The period of Tacitus was truly historical only for the parts west of the Elbe, and the parts along the Rhine. How different is the information—how different were the opportunities for collecting it—in the case of the Cherusci, Chauci, Frisii, and the other nations of the Lower Rhine and Weser, as compared with the *data* for the Semnones, Lemovii, and the nations beyond the Elbe. The former was collected, either directly or indirectly, from men who visited the localities described, fought in them, marched in them, sailed up their rivers, and acted as pioneers across their fens. The latter are based upon such information as the people of the parts which were known could supply concerning the unknown parts beyond them.

As time advanced, however, the more remote countries beyond the Elbe, beyond the Weser, and beyond the Vistula, became known even as the territories of the Catti and Cherusci were known; so that information concerning Pomerania, or Prussia, became as definite and trustworthy as the earlier information about Hesse and Westphalia.

The period when the parts beyond the Elbe, dimly sketched by Tacitus, first become known in definite detail, and from personal knowledge, is, roughly speaking, the reign of Charlemagne.

Advancing from the dim twilight of a fragmentary and second-hand history to the full light derived from the personal knowledge of contemporary witnesses, the first question which we ask is, the extent to which our new knowledge confirms or invalidates our previous accounts. It may do either one or the other. If it confirm them, well and good. If it oppose, a conflict of difficulties arises. In either case, the existing state of things at the time when our information first becomes unexceptionable is the primary and fundamental fact with the *ethnologist*. On this he founds his criticism, criticism which the historian, who is more accustomed to rely upon testimony than to venture upon elaborate trains of reasoning, is not unwilling to accuse him of over-valuing. The ethnologist, on the other hand, imputes to the historian an undue deference to fallible and indistinct testimony.

§ 6. Such are the preliminary observations which prepare the reader for the statement *that nearly the whole of that portion of the Germania of Tacitus which lies east of the Elbe, as well as certain portions of it west of that river, is, at the beginning of the proper historical period, not German but Slavonic.*

Some part of it is more or less Slavonic in the present century. That it was so as early as the ninth, eighth, and seventh centuries, is a fact not sufficiently appreciated.

The following is a sketch of the details:—

Livonia, Courland, East and West Prussia.—Here the definite history begins with the twelfth century, when the Pagan Lithuanians were converted by the Knights of the Teutonic Order. At that time the whole of the area was unequivocally Sarmatian, without trace or vestige of any previous German population—no German names for the rivers or mountains, and no German strongholds in any of the impervious forests and impracticable fens,—no traditions on the part of the Sarmatians of their own comparatively recent arrival in the country. That any portion of the *present* German population of the countries in question is descended from an ancestry earlier than A.D. 800, is what no one has ever ventured to assert, so evidently is it of recent origin, and so totally has any older population—if such ever existed—died off without leaving a trace, or shadow of a trace, of its existence.

Pomerania, East of the Oder.—Adam of Bremen first mentions these Pomeranians, and he mentions them as Slavonians, the Oder being their boundary to the west. On the east they were conterminous with the Prussians. Their name is Slavonic (*po = on* and *mare = sea*,) = *coastmen*. All their antiquities and traditions are equally so; in other words, there is neither evidence, nor shadow of evidence, of their ever having dispossessed an older German population. Nor are they wholly extinct at the present moment. In the parts about Dantzic we find the Slavonic *Kassúb*, *Cassubitæ*, or *Caszeb*. Their language approaches the Polish. No one has ever deduced the *present* Germans of East Pomerania from any ancestry earlier than the Carlovingian period.

Pomerania, west of the Oder, and the eastern part of Mecklenburg.—No definite notices of these parts occur before the time of Charlemagne. From that time downwards, however, they are numerous. The only Germans that they recognise are the conquering invaders. On the other hand, the Slavonic populations are carefully enumerated, and so thoroughly do they fill up the whole area that there is neither nook nor cranny for anything German. The chief nation is that of the Wilzi, Welatabi, or Liutici, falling into the minor divisions of the *Chizzini*, near the present town of Rostock, the *Circipani*, on the coast opposite the Isle of Rugen, the *Tolenzi*, on the Tollensee, and the *Rethrarii* of the *civitas Rethre*. Now, whatever the others may have been, these last were no newcomers, since the town was pre-eminent for its antiquity, and the temple which it contained celebrated for its sanctity. No one has ever deduced the *present* Germans of West Pomerania and Mecklenburg from any ancestry earlier than the Carolingian period.

The Island of Rugen.—Like the town of Rethre, the Isle of Rugen was at one and the same time Slavonic, and sacred; its sacro-sanctitude implying the antiquity of the rites practised in it.

Western Coast of Mecklenburg.—Nothing is known of Mecklenburg older than the pre-eminently Slavonic *Obodrites*, separated by the river Warnow from the Wilzi, and by the Trave from the Slavonians of—

Holstein.—Here, for the first time, do we meet with a true Slavono-German frontier. A line drawn from the Trave to the head-waters of the Eyder forms it. North of the Eyder, in the time of Alfred, were the Danes; west of the Trave, the Saxons; between those rivers and the sea, the Slavonic *Wagri*. The city of Altenburg was Wagrian, and so was the Isle of Femern.

Lauenburg.—This was the locality of the Polabi, or Slavonians of the Elbe from *po = on* and *Laba = Elbe*.

Uckermark.—Here dwelt, at the end of the tenth century, the Slavonic *Ucri* or *Wucri*.

Interior of Mecklenburg and Mittelmark.—The country between the Hevel and the Muritz-See, a vast wood, requiring

five days to traverse it, was the land of the Slavonic *Murizzi* or *Morizani*; westwards of these, and extending as far as the Elbe, were the *Warnabi*—Slavonic also.

Brandenburg.—Brandenburg is more than sufficiently covered by Slavonic tribes; since the Hevelli or Slavonians of the Hevel, the Stoderani, the Brizani, the Linones, the Smeldingi, the Dossani, and the Bethenici, although the exact localities have yet to be investigated, are quite enough to fill the tract between Slavonic Altmark on the north-west, and—

Lusatia on the south-east—Lusatia, which is, at the present moment, Semi-Slavonic, and which was originally wholly so; Lower Lusatia being the country of the Milcieni, Upper Lusatia of the Lusici.

Silesia.—Now, and from the dawn of the historical period, Silesia has been in the same category with Lusatia—*i. e.* essentially Slavonic.

The Slavonians of Lusatia and Silesia formerly extended as far into the present country of Germany as the river Werra, and as the head-waters of the Maine.

Bohemia with parts of Moravia and Upper Hungary.—These countries have never been *known* to be more German than at present, and at present they are Slavonic. At the same time, I believe that there are traditions among the present Tshekhs, which refer to their conquest of the country and the usurpation of their ancestors. The value of these depends upon their nationality. This may be absolute. It may, on the other hand, be of the same value as the traditions about *Brut* being the patriarch of the Britons, or, in other words, the legend may be more due to the influence of a medieval Latin literature, than the truly native traditions.—*Valeant quantum.*

Bavaria and Suabia will be considered in the sequel.

§ 7. Between the Germany thus limited by Slavonia, and the Germania of Tacitus, there is a great contrast. How is this explained? By the assumption of a vast change in the interval, a change so vast as, in the mind of the present writer, to make the assumption of it undue and illegitimate. Is the evidence, then, of Tacitus to be impeached? This will be

answered anon. At any rate the value of his evidence for the parts which his best informants must have known by hearsay only must not be placed on the same level with the value of his evidence concerning the parts well-known to both his contemporaries and predecessors. The legionary of Drusus or Tiberius might describe, from personal knowledge, the populations of the Ems, or Weser; but, whoever described the tribes of the Oder or Vistula, would describe them from hearsay accounts,—hearsay accounts, which I have no wish to undervalue,—hearsay accounts which can often be satisfactorily confirmed,—hearsay accounts, however, which have just the same relation to the descriptions of the parts visited by the Roman armies, as the *data* for the geography of Central Africa have to the surveys of the colonies of Natal, the Cape, or Angola.

§ 8. Holding, however, that the text of Tacitus is absolutely accurate, what must we do? Assume a certain amount of German displacement effected by a certain amount of Slavonic invasion. This is, as near as may be, to double the history of the parts beyond the Elbe. In the ninth century they were Slavonic though now German. Add to this that in the third century they were German though Slavonic in the tenth.

The likelihood or unlikelihood of this must be tested in several ways.

First, in respect of its *extent*.—The assumed migration must have been unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, by any other within the historical period. When the Germans of Charlemagne, and his successors, conquered (or re-conquered) Transalbian Germany, there was neither trace nor record of any previous German occupancy. Yet such previous occupancy rarely occurs without leaving signs of its existence. Sometimes there are fragments of the primitive population safe in the protecting fastnesses of some mountain, forest, or fen, whose savage independence testifies their original claim on the soil. In this way the Welsh of Wales, and the Basques of the Pyrenees, are monuments of that aboriginal population which held possession of Spain and Britain, long before the beginning of history, and which partially holds possession of them now. Yet there is no want of natural strongholds in the country in question. The Saxon Switzerland, the Bohemian

range, the forests of Lithuania, might well have been to the Germans of Tacitus, what Snowdon was to the Britons of Agricola, or the Pyrenees to the old Iberians; in which case the *present* Germans of those countries would be the oldest inhabitants of them,—not the newest, as they are.

Another way in which a primitive, but displaced, population escapes annihilation, is, by taking upon itself the character of a servile population. In this way the Helots of Sparta represent the older inhabitants of Laconia, as well as the conquered Messenians.

But a servile class of conquered aborigines was as much wanting in the Slavonian portions of the *Germania*, when it was first known otherwise than by hearsay, as the analogues of the Welsh or Biscayans. The signs of a primitive population, shown as they show themselves in Britain or Spain; shown as they showed themselves in Greece or Italy; or shown as they showed themselves in Hindostan, were equally non-existent.

Neither were there any *traditions*. No lays celebrated either the Arthur which defended, or the Ida which ravaged the soil. The supposed conquerors knew of no *indigenæ* which they replaced. No *indigenæ* complained of the stranger who dispossessed them.

Lastly, *Saxon* as is England, the oldest geographical terms are *Keltic*; some of the original names of the rivers and mountains remaining unchanged. The converse is the case in Transalbingian Germany. The older the name the more surely is it Slavonic.

So much for the extent of the assumed displacement. It must have been the greatest and the most absolute of any recorded in history.

It must also have taken place with unparalleled rapidity. By supposing that the assumed changes set in immediately after the time of Tacitus, and that as soon as that writer had recorded the fact that Poland, Bohemia, and Courland were parts of *Germania*, the transformation of these previously Teutonic areas into Slavonic ones, began, we have a condition as favourable for a great amount of changes as can fairly be

demanded. Still it may be improved. The last traces of the older population may be supposed to have died out only just before the time when the different areas became known as exclusively Slavonic; an assumption which allows the advocate of the German theory to say that, had our information been a little earlier, we should have found what we want in the way of vestiges, fragments, and effects of the antecedent non-Slavonic aborigines. Be it so. Still the time is short. Bohemia appears as an exclusively Slavonic country as early as A.D. 625. Is the differences between these areas and the time of Tacitus sufficient?

Undoubtedly a great deal in the way of migration and displacement may be done in five hundred years, and still more in seven hundred; yet it may be safely said that, under no circumstances whatever, within the historical period, has any known migration equalled the rapidity and magnitude of the one assumed, and that under no circumstances has the obliteration of all signs of an earlier population been so complete.

How could the displacement inferred from this utter obliteration have taken place? Was it by a process of ejection, so that the presumed immigrant *Slavonians* conquered and expelled the original *Goths*? The chances of war, when we get to the historical period, run the other way; and the first fact which we know concerning those selfsame Slavonians who are supposed to have dispossessed the Germans in the third and fourth centuries, is that, in the ninth, the Germans dispossessed them.

If this view will not suffice, let us try another. Let us ask if it may not be the case, that, when those Germans, who are admitted to have left their country in great numbers, migrated southwards, they left vast gaps in the population of their original areas, which the Slavonians from behind filled up, even by the force of pressure; since geography abhors a *vacuum* as much as nature is said to do.

I will not say that this view is wholly unsupported by induction. Something of the kind may be found amongst the Indians of North America, where a hunting-ground abandoned

by one tribe is appropriated by another. The magnitude, however, of such vacuities is trifling compared with the one in question.

History only tells us of German *armies* having advanced southwards. The conversion of these *armies* into *national migrations* is gratuitous.

§ 9. But if the area of the *dispossessed* Germans was thus remarkable, that of those who held their ground was not less so.

Along the Danube there was, at the time of Tacitus, a real existence of Germans to the south of Bohemia and Moravia, and it extended so far eastwards as to come within the same degree of longitude as the supposed Goths of the Baltic. These Germans of the Danube were the Marcomanni; some of the ancestors and vaunt-couriers of the Goths of Mœsia in the third century.

Now these kept their ground, being the only ones that are admitted to have done so. They did more; they encroached permanently on their neighbours to the east. Strange, that the fact of lying south of a given degree of latitude, should thus have preserved those Germans of the Danube against those fierce Slavonians who (if we suppose the Lygii to have been Germans, and the Marcomanni to have occupied all Bohemia) so thoroughly exterminated their brethren to the north. It looks as if the fact of their having been personally engaged in warfare against Rome, had so sharpened their swords as to have endowed them with powers of resistance unknown north of the Bohemian frontier. Everywhere else the Germans retired; between Bohemia and the Danube they encroached.

Yet it was not for want of enemies that they thus kept their ground. Theirs was no locality especially favoured by peace. They had the same Slavonians to contend with that extinguished the supposed Germans of the Oder and Vistula, and they had the Romans as well. It is not strange that the ancestors of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths should have held out against these odds. It is only strange that they should have been the only Germans who did so. Surely this is a page

in history which may be read differently; and instead of supposing them to have been thus exceptional to their countrymen, we may consider them to be the only Germans of whose existence in the time of Tacitus we are sure.

It was as little for the want of actual wars and migrations as for the paucity of hostile neighbours, that these exceptional Germans of the Danube are found, in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, in the locality assigned to them by Tacitus in the second. On the contrary, there was much of each. This we *know* to have been the case. Of similar wars and similar migrations, on the Oder and Vistula, we know nothing; we only assume them for the sake of accounting for a supposed change of population.

§ 10. On the real theatre of action, the Middle Danube, what is it that we find in the time of Tacitus? Romans, Germans, Slavonians, all on the Rhætian and Pannonian frontier, the Romans having the lion's share of country. What in the time of Theodoric? Germans, Romans, and Slavonians, the Germans possessing much of what the Romans had lost. This is what we see on the points illuminated by the clear light of history; and the changes implied are but *moderate*. In the parts beyond, however, everything increases its dimensions. The wars are more exterminating, the migrations longer, and the displacements greater than anything known elsewhere.

§ 11. Let us now consider another, and not dissimilar, series of facts. The inroad which is assumed to have obliterated the eastern Germans of the Germania of Tacitus was not exclusively *Slavonic*; it was *Lithuanic* as well. Neither was the whole area which, in the ninth century, was undoubtedly divided between these Lithuanians and Slavonians, *absolutely* German even in the eyes of Tacitus. At the mouth of the Vistula the *Æstyii* spoke a language like the *British*.

Let these *Æstyians*, on the strength of their *sermo Britannicæ propior*, be called the *non-Germanic* portion of the so-called original Germanic area; and—

Let the *Prussians*, on the strength of their Lithuanic tongue, be called the *non-Slavonic* portion of the same area as it appears in the twelfth century.

It will be found that the relation of the *non*-Slavonic portion of the Slavonian period, was exactly that of the *non*-German portion during the German period—*i. e.* both the *Æstyians* and Prussians occupied the same locality.

Hence, the displacement of these *Britanno-German* populations (and the statement of Tacitus is as valid for the *Æstyians* speaking a language like the British as for any single fact connected with these parts) must have been accompanied with a remarkable act of discrimination—since the parts occupied by the populations like the *British* became *Lithuanic* and not Slavonic, the remainder *Slavonic* and not *Lithuanic*. This nice appropriation of different parts of the different areas cannot be said to add to the probability of the migration which must be assumed. Such a migration, annihilating the populations, traditions, and local names, and all the substantial realities of a vast district, and yet, preserving the *form* of its ethnological area, is, to say the least, a very remarkable one; since it gives us a phenomenon which is better ascertained in chemistry than in history, *i. e.* the *phenomenon of replacement and substitution*.

§ 12. Now this piece of ethnological chemistry, thus displayed on the Vistula, repeats itself on the Danube.

In the time of Tacitus the parts between Moravia, Gallicia, and Hungary were occupied by nations speaking *three* different languages—the German, the *Pannonica lingua* of Tacitus, and the *Gallica lingua* of Tacitus.

At the *present* time *three* tongues meet in the same parts, the German, the Slovak, and the Polish of Gallicia; the Majiar of Hungary being a fourth—but that is of late introduction.

Now the migration here assumed is one which, whatever it did in the way of an indiscriminate abolition of all nationality, at least left the boundaries of three different languages, and their geographical relations to each other, much as it found them. It respected forms whilst it abolished substances.

§ 13. The elimination of the Germans from the eastern part of the Tacitus area forms only one-half of the question. The other consists in the origin of the Slavonians and Lithuanians who displaced them. Let it be admitted that the parts between the

Elbe and Vistula are emptied. Let the physical dogma about Nature's abhorrence of a *vacuum* be transferred to ethnology. We are, then, only half in our inquiry. How was the void filled up? By a population which we may call generally, Sarmatian, but which we have seen is divided into two branches—the Slavonian and the Lithuanic. The origin of the latter is beset with no extraordinary difficulties, beyond those already alluded to. That of the former is eminently obscure. Whence could they come in strength and numbers sufficient for the phenomena under explanation,—in strength and numbers sufficient to obliterate all vestiges of the previous Germanism of such vast areas as Mecklenburg, Pomerania, the Prussias, Brandenburg, Saxony, Silesia, Posen, Poland, and Bohemia? From some parts *beyond* the countries just enumerated; these being, by hypothesis, German.

Let us look, then, to those parts of Europe which, lying east, north, or south of the Germania of Tacitus were, at one and the same time, not only not German but Slavonic—Slavonic in the way that the ancestors of the Slavonians of Holstein, Lauenburg, Luneburg, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Lusatia, Silesia, Saxony, Bohemia, Moravia, the Prussias (East and West), Posen, and Poland, must have been.

It could not well have been from Courland, Livonia, or Lithuania—inasmuch as the population here is Lithuanic rather than Slavonian.

Nor yet from the parts beyond, *i.e.* Esthonia, and the parts on the Gulf of Finland. These were Ugrian.

Nor yet, very readily, from Gallicia, Lodomeria, and the parts around.

§ 14. If Tacitus be absolutely unimpeachable, a *Gallica lingua* was spoken hereabouts, whereas if he be fallible, the value of his evidence as to the size of *Germania* is diminished. Still, without admitting that these parts can give us all the phenomena required, I admit that *Gallicia* may have been Slavonic. Indeed, I hold that it was so. But then I make *Gallicia* mean *Gallician*, not *Gallic*. On the other hand, I hold that the southern frontier of the Lithuanic reached the northern frontier of the Gallician. If this be the case—if the parts *west* of this first piece of Slavonic ground that the ordinary

interpretation of Tacitus allows us, be German, whilst the parts north of it are Lithuanic—we have only two other directions to look towards—the south and the east, Hungary, Transylvania, and the Danubian Principalities on the one hand, Russia on the other.

That the Hungary, &c., may have been Slavonic, I admit; but, considering the effects of the Dacian conquest, I deny it to have been the Slavonia that Slavonized Pomerania, Mecklenburg, &c., &c.

That Russia was Slavonic, I doubt—holding it to have been, except in the extreme south and west, Ugrian. Even, however, if it were so, its Slavonism belonged to a section of the Slavonic family other than that of the Slavonians of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, &c., &c. The Slavonians of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, &c., were Poles and Bohemians—Lekhs and Czekhs—rather than Servians or Russians, a difference of no small import.

I hold, then, that the whole of that portion of the Sarmatian stock, which in the ninth century was Slavonic as opposed to Lithuanic, Polish and Bohemian as opposed to Servian and Russian, must either be deduced from some portion of what Tacitus calls *Germania*, or from a district to which the same author assigns a language he calls *Gallica*.

§ 15. This sketch of the difficulties of finding an area sufficient to have given origin to the Slavonians of the ninth century beyond the limits of the *Germania* of Tacitus having been laid before the reader, and the necessity having been suggested of making them part of that area, I may now be allowed to add that the reasons against making the particular countries just enumerated other than Slavonic are, in each case, based upon the investigation of the individual case, being by no means deductions from the limitations put upon the supposed *Germania*. They are all *veræ causæ*, got at by either so many researches in general ethnology, or by so much special study of the Slavonian, Lithuanic, and Ugrian stocks. And, assuredly, this breadth of view is necessary. When the special German philologue has so many Slavonians to account for, he easily refers them to some other area; inasmuch, as the only condition that this need satisfy is that it be other than German. In

this way the rest of the world's surface is passed over to the Slavonian, who has *his* area also to deal with. The German has left him a *minimum* of available space. A *minimum*, however, he must have—at any rate. If his patriotism traverse his science, the chances are that he will want a *maximum*. Say, however, that he is easily satisfied. If his own area have been unduly curtailed, he must stretch his wings in another direction. For this the Ugrian has to suffer—and so on *ad infinitum*. Hence comes the necessity of so apportioning the earth's surface amongst the stocks that cover it, as to leave room for all—a necessity, which, as far as my own experience goes, no German philologue has ever yet recognised to half its necessary extent.

§ 16. I state, then, that the original Slavonic area must have had a certain magnitude—that magnitude being considerable. But the German must have had a certain magnitude also; and it may be argued that I curtail it too much. I admit that the gravest objection to the doctrine of the present treatise lies in this line of reasoning. The Germany to which I limit the true Germania may reasonably be said to be too small for the history that arises out of it. I admit that it is not a bit too large. Still, I hold that it is large enough.

§ 17. We have now taken a measure of some of the improbabilities involved in the doctrine of a Slavonic migration to the Transalbian portion of the *Germania* between the times of Tacitus and Charlemagne; and though they are undeniably great, their magnitude is only relative. And a certain degree of evidence may overbalance them. Difficult as it is to believe that Poland was ever German, there is, nevertheless, an amount of testimony which would make it credible. Had an observer like Cæsar visited the country *in person*, and known it as well as he knew Gaul, his *dictum* would, probably, have outweighed all other difficulties. On the other hand, had a writer of no character whatever classed it amongst the countries of Germany, I should have troubled the reader with but few reasons for objecting to him, and have disposed of his evidence in a summary manner, by treating his statement as an error.

§ 18. In Tacitus, and most other writers, we must distin-

guish between his facts and his inferences; and I think that, in the dimensions given to his Germania, inference had a good deal to do. What Tacitus *knew* of the Germans of the south was, that they extended as far down the Danube as the frontier of Pannonia, and he had no reason to imagine that their southern extension went one hair's-breadth further in an easterly direction than did their northern one; or *vice versâ*. Hence the extension of their area as far along the Baltic as it was known to reach along the Danube, was legitimate: subject, of course, to correction from further investigation; and equally legitimate was the assumption that the intervening parts were German—since the reasoning ran thus—

a. The *southern* Germans run thus far eastwards;

b. The *northern* do the same;

c. So do the parts *interjacent*. Subject, I say, to correction from absolute investigation, this *à priori* view was sufficiently scientific; and who shall say that Tacitus put it forth unconditionally?

These and similar considerations show, that such inaccuracies as we find in Tacitus are so far from subtracting from his value as an authority, or from the respect due to his testimony, that they enhance his credit. Such as occur could hardly have been avoided; and the only wonder is that there are so few of them.

If, however, we deny this reasonable amount of inaccuracy, the thoroughly hypothetical character of the migrations in question cannot be too strongly stated, or too prominently exhibited. As a general rule, *they are referable to one head, and to one head only, viz. the facts which they will explain.*

To this statement there are a few exceptions, *i.e.* there are a few migrations, for which we have a certain amount of separate substantive evidence, and which take their place in history on the strength of their own merits. Such are those of the Goths and the Longobards.

§ 19. As a *general rule*, the German migrations are hypothetical. Some of them, however, have been assumed upon fair grounds, *e.g.* that of the Rugii, and that of the Varini. Of these, the unreality—for unreal I hold them to have been

—only becomes apparent after a considerable amount of somewhat minute criticism, and the notice of several new facts lying beyond the ordinary field of investigation.

§ 20. The criticism that applies to the assumed migrations applies also to the details of those populations of that part of the Germania, which the present writer treats as Sarmatian, *i. e.* Slavono-Lithuanic or Lithuano-Slavonic. Such are the Semnones, the Varini, the Lygii, &c. In each and all of these cases there is a certain amount of separate substantive evidence in favour of their being other than German—a certain amount of evidence, little or much—slight in some cases, *e.g.* that of the Semnones, strong in others, *e.g.* that of the *Lygii*. Here the independent evidence in favour of a Slavonic, and against a German affinity, is at its *maximum*.*

§ 21. With the *Lygii*, according to Tacitus, we have a *generic term* like *Gallus* and *Suevus*.

Ptolemy confirms Tacitus.—Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς Βουγοῦντας Λούγιοι οἱ Ὀμανοὶ, ὑφ' οὗς Λούγιοι οἱ Δοῦνοι, μέχρι τοῦ Ἀσκιβουργίου ὄρους καὶ Λούγιοι οἱ Βοῦροι, μέχρι τοῦ Οὔιστούλα ποταμοῦ.

An extract from Nestor confirms Ptolemy:—"When the Wallachians attacked the Slovenians—the Slovenians went forth, and settled on the River Vislje (Vistula), and called themselves Lekhs (*Ljachove*). And some of these people were called *Poles*, some Luticzi, some Pomoranians."

This shows that the root *Lekh* was Slavonic, *i. e.* the native name by which the Slavonians of the Vistula called themselves, rather than the name by which they were called by their *non-Slavonic* neighbours.

That the name of *Lekh* was recognised by other writers than Nestor, indeed that it was a common designation, is shown by the hypothesis of the later chronicles, where it becomes the name of the *eponymus* of the *Poles*. Tshekh and Lekh are the two leaders of two great nations; the first of the Poles, the second of the Bohemians. Of the latter, the *present* native

* The author's edition of the *Germania of Tacitus with Ethnological Notes* is specially devoted to the consideration of the details. Indeed, the present treatise is little more than a general exposition of the views therein exhibited.

name is *Tshekh*. Of the former, *Lekh* was the *original* denomination. Hence the name *Lekh*, in Nestor's time, at least, was *native*. This is against the *Lygii* having been German.

I confess that it strikes me unfavourably that Zeuss has kept back the identity of locality, combined with the similarity of sound between the *Lekh* of Nestor, and the *Lygii* of Tacitus. Whether we look to his remarks on the former word (p. 126), or the latter (p. 662), we find abundant signs of readiness to associate similar words with the one under consideration. Thus (in vv. *Poloni*, *Wenden*) he expends some ingenuity in showing the probability of the *Lekh* of Nestor, and the *Λευζανῆνοι* of Constantine Porphyrogenita having been identical. He also shows some research in tracing the names in the Icelandic writings of Snorro (*Læsjar*) and in the Latin of Witikind (*Liciaviki*). Then in v. *Lygii* he enumerates the slightly-varied forms *Ligii*, *Lugii*, *Λοῖοι*, *Λούγιοι*, *Lugiones*, *Λογίωνες*, *Lupiones*, and hints at an etymological connection with the root *long*. But, with all this there is not a single reference from *Lygii* to *Lekh*, nor yet any from *Lekh* to *Lygii*; so that the very important fact of similarity of name coinciding with identity of area, is not even recognised as a complication worth investigating.

Pole is a geographical, rather than a national, term, and means *occupants of plains*. *Pole* = *plain*, and *Polak* = *an inhabitant of a plain*. Of this *Polacy* is the plural form. Nestor, writing in Old Slavonic, has the form *Poljane*. Hence the Latin form *Polonia*—"Inter Alpes Hunniæ et Oceanum est *Polonia*, sic dicta in eorum idiomate quasi *Campania*."—Zeuss, p. 662.

The *d* in the English form *Poland*, has been introduced by the same process of confusion which converts *asparagus* into *sparrow-grass*, *i. e.* the tendency to identify a *like* term in a foreign, with some real one in the native tongue.

The situation, then, of the *Lygii* of Tacitus is that of the *Lekhs* of Nestor.

Zeuss admits that the present Poles are the *Lekhs* of Nestor under another name. "The name *Lech*, originally a general name given by the eastern to the western branch of Slavonians, must most frequently have been applied to those who lived

nearest, viz. the Poles. At length, after ceasing to be a general appellation, it became fixed as their special designation."—P. 662.

With all this, not a word is said about *Lekh* being like *Lyg-ii*.

But it may be said that the assumption of a migration in the case of the Slavonic Lekhs is legitimate, inasmuch as it is suggested by the very passage of Nestor lately quoted.

Be it so. There would still stand over the very remarkable fact that the very area in which these immigrant Lekhs settled should be an area occupied by a people with a name almost identical with their own. What should we say to a writer who argued that Boston in the United States was, very likely, wholly unconnected with Boston in England; that it was an aboriginal American name; that by mere chance, the Bostonians of Lincolnshire fell in with a place named like their native town; and that by mere chance the aboriginal Bostonians of Massachusetts were displaced by a population bearing the same name as themselves?

But they might have taken their name from that of the earlier *Lygii*. Not so. The tradition about the eponymus *Lech* is strong evidence in favour of its being native. What Anglo-Saxon ever called himself a descendant of *Brut*; or placed *Brut* at the head of his genealogy?

Now—as has already been stated—Zeuss himself admits that the Poles are the Lekhs of Nestor. Add to this the fact just mentioned in favour of the name being native.

Then consider the word *Lygii* to be German. What follows? The very selfsame difficulty that will be noticed when we come to the Goths.

Two difficulties of this kind occurring together are more than twice as grave as either singly.

§ 22. I will now guard against the appearance of any undue depreciation of a great author by raising a question or two as to the point of view from which the evidence of Tacitus is to be considered. A great deal of it is his only so far as he has adopted it from others; a great deal, consequently, has to be referred to some original source of unascertained value. This is no hypothesis. In speaking of the German-Gallic frontier,

Tacitus quotes Cæsar. But Cæsar himself speaks as the independent observer only in parts of his subject. He quotes from the Alexandrian geographer, *e. g.* Eratosthenes. A well-known passage concerning the *Hercyniæ silvæ*, or, according to Tacitus, the *Hercynius saltus* shows this—"Hercyniæ silvæ (quam Eratostheni et quibusdam Græcis famâ notam esse video, quam illi orcyiniam appellant) oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus; rectâque fluminis Danubii regione, pertinet ad fines Dacorum et Anartium. Hinc se flectit sinistrorsum, diversis à flumine regionibus; multarumque gentium fines propter magnitudinem attingit; neque quisquam est hujus Germaniæ, qui se aut adisse ad initium ejus sylvæ dicat, quum dierum iter LX processerit aut quo ex loco oriatur, acceperit."—*Cæsar, De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi. § 24, 25.

No one can say that an objection against the dimensions of such a tract as the *Hercynian Forest* is an objection against either Tacitus or Cæsar. The real author seems to be Eratosthenes, or some one *e quibusdam Græcis*.

Surely, then, the information respecting the darker parts of Germany must be viewed as the information of so many of Tacitus' predecessors rather than of Tacitus himself. Hence, however high we may place the merits of the author of the *Histories*, we are, by no means, justified in measuring his authorities by the same high standard.

§ 23. But "Tacitus," it may be said, "has adopted their views, and, having done so, has made them his own." I see no grounds for thus making him an ethnological critic as well as an historical philosopher. Lest the contrary, however, should be entertained, let us look how he treats an ethnological question elsewhere. Whence does he deduce the Jews? From Crete, and that on the strength of the similarity between the names *Ida* (the Mount) and *Judah*—*Idæi*, and *Judæi*. Do the upholders of the German origin of (say) the *Ligii* also uphold the (Cretan) descent of the Hebrews? The majority do not. Nevertheless, the evidence is the same in both cases—viz. that of one of the first of historians.

§ 24. There is another way in which we must look at the term *Germania*. What does it carry with it? In what characteristics does it imply identity? Does it mean that all Germans used the same arms—formed the same political alliances—exercised

the same political rights—had the same-colored hair—spoke the same language? Does it mean that they all agreed in some of these points? Does it mean that they all agreed in all of them? Whatever be the answer to the question, one thing is certain, viz. that if we adopt the same tests of Germanism as Tacitus, Tacitus must have adopted the same tests that we do. In other words, the term *Germania* must connote the same ideas in the nineteenth that it did in the second century. Can it, however, be shown that our views of what constitutes Germanism are the same as those of the Romans in the reign of Domitian? Far from it. The converse is nearer the truth. The primary test with *us* is *language*; and it may be safely said that no populations speaking a Slavonic tongue would ever constitute any part of an ethnological Germany constructed by any living ethnologist. Hence, what is not German in speech is (practically speaking) not German at all. With Tacitus, however, language was *not* the primary test. Indeed, he specially shows, in more passages than one, that populations who spoke German might be doubtful, and that populations who spoke languages other than German might be true Germans. See, in proof of this, what he says about the *Osi*. In one place he writes *Osis Germanorum natione*, in another, *Osos, Pannonica lingua arguit non esse Germanos*. Suppose that this second statement had never been made? The *Osi* would have been deemed German according to the usual criticism. There is, then, the possibility of certain *non-German* populations having been called *Germani*, just as the *Osi* are so called; whilst the *data* for correcting the natural inference from such passages as *Germanorum natione* are non-existent.

§ 25. Equally clear is his language respecting the Bastarnæ and Peucini.

“Peucinorum, Venedorumque, et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam dubito: quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede, ac domiciliis, ut Germani agunt: sordes omnium ac torpor: procerum connubiis mixtis, nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum fœdantur. Venedi multum ex moribus traxerunt. Nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniis pererrant. Hi tamen inter Germanos potiùs referuntur, quia et domos fingunt, et scuta gestant, et pedum usu ac pernecitate gaudent;

quæ omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt, in plaustro equoque viventibus."

Upon the whole, I think that whilst *Dacia* meant the political domain of Decebalus, and *Sarmatia* the country of the more nomadic populations of the type of the occupants of the steppes of Southern Russia, *Germania* meant what was neither the one nor the other—its characteristics being negative rather than positive. A nation ever so German in other respects, would have been Sarmatian if it lived in waggons, or shifted its area with its flocks and herds. A nation ever so Sarmatian in language would have been German if its political relations, domestic habits, and manner of warfare were German, of course presuming that it fell within a certain geographical area—an area with a large margin.

Such is the general sketch of the reasons which induce the present writer to believe that all that part of the *Germania* of Tacitus which we know to have been Sarmatian when clear and unmistakable history begins, was Sarmatian in the comparatively obscure times of the second century.

§ 26. Respecting the south-western corner of the present Germany, respecting the original character of the present kingdom of Wurtemberg, of Baden, and of Bavaria, I have said nothing. So far as they were comprised within either the *Decumates Agri* or *Rhætia*, they are excluded from *Germania* by Tacitus himself; whilst Niebuhr expressly states that, in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, Suabia was not yet subject to Rome; his reason being that no mention is made of any attacks upon Germany south of the Lahn. Although this view rests upon negative evidence, and is qualified by the statement that all that is known about this war is vague and indefinite, the *à priori* probabilities are in favour of it.

§ 27. *Additions to the Germania—Getic hypothesis.*—I have already stated that few writers *subtract* from the *Germania* of Tacitus.—Several *add* to it. Of these by far the most important is the author of the *Deutsche Grammatik* and of a later work of less value, the *Deutsche Sprache*. In this he has committed himself to the doctrine that the Getæ, and the Daci, were German—so that the *Dacia* of the Roman emperors, the present Danubian principalities, was German. If so, the

statement that the Germans were divided from the Sarmatæ and *Daci* by “mountains or mutual fear” (*montibus aut mutuo metu*) is exceptionable—the error being one of omission. It is, as has been made manifest, neither the business nor the wish of the present writer to support any writer’s infallibility. It is only his wish and business to see that the rule by which it is measured is applied evenly. That Tacitus may have introduced Germans where they had no business is not more unlikely than that he may have overlooked them where they actually existed.

Such is the general view of the question. In the special case before us, however, the argument is strengthened against him. What Dacia actually was in the way of ethnology a writer in the time of Domitian may easily have ascertained. But could he so easily learn about the tribes of Poland, Silesia, Gallicia, and Saxony? There is no comparison between his advantages in the former, and his disadvantages in the latter case. Nevertheless, the Getic hypothesis (for so I name the doctrine that makes Dacia German), as long as it also requires Poland, &c. to have been originally German, credits Tacitus with accuracy where accuracy is well nigh impossible, and imputes to him an error of omission where truthful accounts were eminently accessible. Dacia, which he might have known as well as he knew the Westphalian parts of Germany, he is charged with making other than German when it was actually German. The interior, however, of Sarmatia, which had never been approached by a Roman legion, he is credited with making German on good and sufficient grounds. Hence, if we are to correct him at all, our correction must touch the parts where error was so easily avoided as scarcely to be excusable, whereas for those where it was not only excusable, but almost unavoidable, we are to leave his statement unimpeached and unsuspected.

This is one instance of the kind of reasoning that applies to the *Additions to the Germania of Tacitus*, and it is of the kind we expect beforehand. It is the argument *à fortiori* as applied to the intrinsic improbability of an author with insufficient means of information affording unexceptionable evidence, increased by the discovery of an oversight on a plain question.

§ 28. The next objection is of the same sort. All the difficulties of the question concerning the origin of the Sarmatians are increased by the subtraction of such a vast country as Dacia from the possible, or probable, Sarmatian area.

§ 29. Another objection is the following: If the evidence of authors is to be taken with any regularity at all, what are we to say to the special statements that the Dacians were (in respect to language) in the same category with the Getæ? That they were both German.

From this the author of the Getic hypothesis neither recoils nor shrinks. The Daci, he holds, were Getæ—both being German.

But the Thraces were what the Daci were, the Daci being Getæ. If so, German was spoken on the very frontier of Greece. The difficulties that this affinity suggests are, by no means, sufficiently met.

But this is not all. What the Thracians were the Phrygians were also, whilst the Phrygian tongue was akin to the Armenian. If so, German was spoken on the shores of the Caspian. The difficulties that this suggests are avoided rather than met in all that I have seen on this same Getic hypothesis.

§ 30. Let us, however, suppose that they are got over; also supposing that the writer who charges Tacitus with having understated the amount of Germanism in one quarter is willing to apply his canon of fallibility or infallibility consistently, and to admit that he may have overstated it in another. In this case, the question gets considered on its own merits, rather than on the consistency of its advocate, or the consequences deducible from it.

In favour of the Getic hypothesis there is one strong fact, a fact so strong that the present writer binds himself to one of two alternatives—either to admit it as an argument in favour of the views he here opposes to an extent sufficient to neutralize all the objections he has already made with the addition of several that he could make, or to explain it away.

a. The names *Getæ* and *Gothi* are not only sufficiently alike to be considered the same words, but there is actual evidence as to their having been used as synonyms.

b. The Goths were Germans.

c. When they first appear in history it is in the country of the *Getæ*.

d. But the *Getæ* were occupants of that country long before this earliest appearance in history of the *Goths*—they (by current opinion) having not only been Germans, but having come from Germany.

Now what are the chances against the name of a locality reached by a body of emigrants being identical with that of the emigrants themselves in their native country? The chances against such a coincidence are certainly very great indeed.

What are they against it being as like as the words *Getæ*, and *Gothi*? Still very great.

Hence, the fact that a tribe called G-O-T-H-I should, when they first peopled the Mœsogothic country, have hit upon the country of a people with a name so like their own as G-E-T-Æ, by mere accident, is strange. English or American colonies might be sent to some thousand places before one would be found with a name so like that of the mother-country as *Get* is to *Got*. This, however, has been already noticed when the *Lygii* were under consideration.

The chances, then, are that the similarity of name is *not* accidental, but that there is some historical, ethnological, or geographical grounds to account for it. Grimm accounts for it by making the *Goths* indigenous to the land of *Getæ*.

In other words, in the Getic hypothesis, it is held that the *Goths* were *Getæ*, and the *Getæ* *Goths*, *from the beginning*, the origin of the *Goths* in Germany, and the migration from that country being denied. There was no migration at all. The *Goths* were on the Lower Danube from the *ab origine*, and they were known to the earlier Greek and Latin writers as *Getæ*.

Undoubtedly this is a reasonable explanation of what is otherwise an improbable coincidence.

§ 31. Yet it is only reasonable under the assumption that the *Gothi* left Germany under that name, or, at any rate, that they bore it *before* they reached the country of the *Getæ*. If they did not do this, and if they only took it up on reaching Dacia, in the way that a Spaniard of Zacatecas calls himself a Mexican, or an Englishman a Briton, the whole problem

vanishes, the phenomenon being one of the most ordinary kind; viz. the adoption on the part of an invading body of the name of the population, or area, invaded.

Now there is as little evidence that any Germans ever called themselves Goths when in Germany, as there is that any Spaniard ever called himself a Mexican when in Castile, or that an Angle, when an occupant of the Elbe or Eyder, designated himself as a Briton. Such is the statement to which—negative and, consequently, hazardous, as it is—the present writer commits himself.

How much of his system stands or falls with it is another question; one which may be considered when the assertion itself gets impugned. Undoubtedly, however, a great deal depends upon it.

§ 32. For this reason I will anticipate an objection which, although not likely to be made by any careful reasoner, is still possible. “Why” (it may be said) “may not the *Gothones* or *Gothini* have been the *Goths* in question? They are, each, within the limits of Germany.” I answer, that this suggestion assumes the whole question under discussion, viz. the accuracy of the term *Germania*; inasmuch, as, of all the doubtful parts of the area so designated by Tacitus, the Gothinian and Gothonian localities are the most so.

Or rather, there is no doubt about them. The former is expressly excluded by Tacitus himself from the German division—*Gothinos Gallica*, *Osos Pannonica lingua arguit non esse Germanos*.

With the *Gothones* the evidence, though less direct, is scarcely less conclusive; the name alone being, to a certain extent, a reason in favour of their being in the same category with the *Gothini*. Indeed, individually, I hold that the *Gothones* were the *Gothini* described from their northern frontier, and by observers from the Baltic, the *Gothini* being *Gothones* approached from the South. Still stronger, however, than this is the difficulty of separating them from the *Ostyii* (Ὠστίωνες), and *Kossini* of the Amber country—whose language (*teste Tacito*) was *Britannicæ proprior*. Whatever this was, it was not German.

§ 33. As compared with the simple statement that the Ger-

mans of the Getic country were Goths, or Getæ, only in the way that the Germans of England are Britons, the Getic hypothesis has a strong primary presumption against it, viz. the law of parsimony. This forbids us to multiply causes, "above all" (to use an expression applied to a very different subject) "the postulation of an unknown force where a known impotence can account for the phænomenon."* The unknown force in the present instance is the original occupancy of the Getic country by German Goths as an explanation of the similarity of name. But it is an unnecessary postulate, inasmuch as we are unable to show that there were ever such things as German Goths at all. All that there actually was, was a certain collection of Germans in Goth-land, just as there was elsewhere a certain collection of Angles in Britain, or as there is, at the present moment, a certain number of Spaniards in Mexico.

§ 34. The minor points of evidence in favour of the Getic hypothesis are in the ordinary predicament. They take the greater part of their value from the presumptions in their favour. They may be found in the first volume of the *Deutsche Sprache*. Some are plausible; others evidently pressed into the service. Thus—

Decebalus is compounded of the national name *Dac-*, and *bal* = the *Pfal-* in *West-phal-ia*.

Tri-balli is a similar compound of *Pfal*. The *tri* = the *thri* in the A. S. *Tri-milch*.

Thai-phali. Ditto. The *Thai* = the *Da-* in *Daci*.

Thrax—Capable of derivation from Gothic root *þrâ* = *bold*, *quarrelsome*.

Ares = *Thor*.—The Greek *Ares* dwelt in *Thracia*. *Thor* dwelt in *Thrudheim*, which is specially stated by Snorro to be *Thracia*.

Τραυσοί.—Herodotus names the Trausi with the Getæ. The *Tra-* in *Trausi* = the *dr* in *driusan*.

Ister.—The Danube, *in lingua Bessorum Hister vocatur*. Norse, *istr* = *fat*—was sich für den fetten befruchtenden Strom eignete.

The Anartes.—O. H. G. *einheri* = *constant*.

The Costoboci.—*Kost*, *Koist* = M. G. *hauhist*, O. H. G.

* *Discussions on Philosophy*, by Sir W. Hamilton, p. 590.

hôhist (*highest*). *Boci* = the *boci* in the German name *Tri-boci*.

Καυκοήνσιοι = the *Chauci*.

Κωγαίωνον.—The name of a mountain in Dacia = O. H. G. *houc*. O. N. *haugr* = *barrow* (*tumulus*).

The *Aorsi* of Pliny. Compare the M. G. *airzis*, O. H. G. *hirs*, O. N. *hiarsi*.

The *Priantes* of Pliny—M. G. *friônds* = *friends*.

Dromichotes = the firm hero. *Trum* = *firm*, A. S. *Hetja* = *hero*, O. N.

Bæro-bistes.—Ending for ending, the same as *Ario-vistus*.

Δάπυξ = the *hawk*, O. H. G. *hapuh*, A. S. *hafoc*.

Ουλόγαισος.—Ending for ending, the same as *Rhodo-gaisus*.

These are fair samples of the extent to which the derivations are forced or unforced. There are many such—especially a long series taken from Dioscorides of the names of Dacian plants.

Ἀνιασεξέ = *Onobrychis*. = *Old woman's scissars* = *ahne* = *via*, and *sexe* = *culter*.

Δοχελᾶ—*Champitys*. From *tagol* = *hair*; or *päcele* = *lamp*.

Δάκινα = *Limonium*. Possibly *Daisy*. If so from *Dag* = *Dies*.

Τουλβηλά = *Centaurea*. From the root of *dilban* = *delve*.

Σκιαρή = *Dipsacus*. A. S. *scîr* = *purus*, *lucidus*.

Σικουπνοές = *Eryngium*. This may be one of two things—(a.) the present plant called *mannstreue*, in which case it equals A. S. *sigefriæst* = *victoriæ flatus*, or (b.) the *goat's beard*—whence *ziege* = *goat*, and *fahs* = *beard*.

Μόζουλα—*Thymus* = *Moss*, which grows like thyme, or like which thyme grows.

Ζουόστη = *Artemisia*. Probably *marjoram*. If so, *herba suavissima*, = A. S. *svêzôsta* = *sweetest*.

Γονολῆτα = *Lithospermum*. Possibly *kuni-leta* = *leaving its kind*—i. e. bringing forth stones; i. e. stone-like seed.

Προδίορνα = *Helleborus niger*, *veratrum*, presupposes the verb *verare* = *divinare*. Then, as M. S. *frops* = *sapiens*, προδίορνα is to *frops* as *veratrum* to *ver*.

Ὀλμα = χαμαιάκτη = Gothic *elm*.

Τουτάστρα = *Colocynthis*. The termination *astra* in ἀγα-

lastra = *pica*, *ramestra* = *strychnum*, *pala salutans*, *ganastra* = *scintilla*.

Πριαδηλα = O. H. G. *friudela* = *amica*.

§ 35. The criticism that applies to the botanical glosses is rather more complex than that in the criticism of the ordinary names. Thus—in the case of (say) Ζουόστη = *Artemisia*, there are two questions; (1) whether, word for word, Ζουόστη = *svêzô-sta*, and (2) whether plant for plant, *Artemisia* = *marjoram*. Now the ordinary botanist connects the *Artemisia* with the *wormwoods* and *southernwoods*—plants anything but *suavisimæ*. Many other words* are in the same predicament with Ζουόστη. Many, too, are in the same with the following:—

Κρουστάνη = *Chelidonium*. It is assumed (apparently with justice) that as χελιδών (= *swallow*) lies in *Chelidonium*, its equivalent must also be found in κρουστάνη.

Let *crusta* = χελιδών. This may become *hruzdô*, which may be the M. G. *svalvô*.

Now, admitting that the letter changes (the manipulation of which is in the hands of a master)—allow all this—what is the conclusion? That *svalvô* is only remotely connected with *crusta*. Meanwhile, the ordinary Lithuanic for *swallow* (χελιδών) is *kregzde*. This I find in the *Deutsche Sprache* itself; but I fail to find the legitimate inference, viz. that the Dacian name for the *Chelidonium* is *Lithuanic*.

For practical purposes, it is not too much to say that, in the case before us, the existence of a nearer *Non-German* etymology is ignored in favour of a remoter German one. And so it is with other words, *e. g.*—

Ακτή—οἱ δὲ δένδρον ἄρκτου, οἱ δὲ ἡμερον, Ῥωμαῖοι σαμβούκουμ. Γάλλοι σκοβιήν, Δάκοι σέβα, καλαμοειδεῖς ἔχουσα κλάδους—with *reedlike, hollow branches*. As in the O. H. G. *holuntar*, S. *hyll*, D. *hijlde*, the idea of *hollowness* lies here, and the shoots of elder, M. H. G. *holre* are cut to make flutes of. Now the Dacians may have used for *elder* the word *seba*, whilst other dialects reserved the term for the *reed* or *rush*; O. N. *sef*, &c.

* The meanings given to *onobrychis*, *limonium*, *eryngium* and *thymus*, are just as unreal as this—indeed, throughout the list, the philology is only fit for botanists, the botany for philologues.

Well and good. But this is not all. The text continues, and tells us that in Servian the name of the *Sambucus niger* is *Zova*. It is admitted that both in form and meaning this is like $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha$. Then why not call $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha$ Servian—at least in the first instance?

§ 36. The case in favour of the Getæ having been Germans has yet to be made out—standing over, in the mind of the present writer, in *Græcas Kalendas*.

§ 37. He now attempts to apportion what he holds to have been the real Germania of the second century amongst (1) the ancestors of the Saxons and Frisians; (2) the ancestors of the so-called Goths; and (3) the ancestors of the speakers of the Platt-Deutsch and High-German forms of speech of the German Proper, *i. e.* the German as opposed to the Mæso-Gothic, the Frisian, and the Saxon.

§ 38. The first of these divisions has already been considered.

1. *The Goths*.—To the original area of the speakers of the language of the Ulphiline translations I assign *Thuringia*. Thuringia, as the original (so-called) Gothic area satisfies several, perhaps all of the necessary conditions. It gives us the best *situs* for the dialects akin to the Mæso-Gothic, the relations of which are Low German as well as High. Now, at one and the same time, Thuringia lies east of High-German Hesse, and subtends the southern part of Saxon Eastphalia. The present dialects, indeed, are simply High-German; but this only shows that the lineal descendants of the Mæso-Gothic are extinct, and that their replacement has been effected from the west. So early, however, as the time of Michaelis, the remark had been made that the Thuringian forms of speech were the most Mæso-Gothic of any of the German dialects. Upon this, however, I deliver no opinion.

The next fact that points to these parts is one that might have been adduced earlier in corroboration of the doctrine that *Goth* was not a native name. It was reserved, however, for the present question, in order that two points might be dealt with at once.

If the Goths wanted the name by which they were subsequently known when they left Germany, what designation did they bear instead of it? What was the true name? Unless

this be given, the ordinary view of the word Goth remains undisturbed. *De non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem habenda est ratio.* Some name they must have had, and what name so likely as the one which learned men have given them for centuries? On the other hand, the production of a name, really native, gives the last shock to a crumbling edifice. If, then, the speakers of the language of the Ulphiline translations were not called *Goths* till they reached the land of the *Getae*, under what name did they leave Germany?

Under that of *Grut-ungs* and *Therv-ings*.

“Ausi Danubium quondam tranare *Grutungi*
 In lintres fregere nemus, ter mille ruebant
 Per fluvium plenæ cuneis immanibus alni.
 Dux Edotheus erat. Tantæ conamina classis
 Incipiens ætas et primus contudit annus.
 Submersæ sedere rates, fluitantia nunquam
 Largius Arctoos pavere cadavera pisces.
 Corporibus premitur Peuce, per quinque recurrens
 Ostia barbaricos vix egerit unda cruores.
 Confessusque parens Edothei regis opima
 Rettulit, exuviasque tibi: civile secundis
 Conficis auspiciis bellum; tibi debeat orbis
 Fata *Grutungorum*, debellatumque tyrannum.
 Ister sanguineos egit te consule montes.”

In Mamertinus and Eutropius, we find the forms *Tervingi*. Ammianus's form is *Thervingi*. Trebellius Pollio (*in Claudio*) has the name *Virtingia*; which has, reasonably, been considered to be a transposition of *Trevingi*, or *Tervingi*. The similarity of the name *Thuring*- leaves as little doubt in the mind of the present writer, as to the *Thervings* of Dacia having been originally the *Thuringians* of *Thuringia*, as there is about the *Angles* of England having once been the *Angles* of northern Germany.

That the *Thervings* were the *Visigoths* is shown by the fact of so good an authority as Ammianus calling Athanaric, *Thervingorum judex* (xxxi. 3); this Athanaric being the famous Visi-goth. That the Grutungs were the Ostrogoths is less certain, though probable.

That the original Grutungo-Therving (or Thervingo-Grutung) area should be limited to Thuringia is by no means necessary to the present doctrine. Nevertheless, I think that such was the case, the valley of the Naab and Regnitz being originally Slavonic, *i. e.* a continuation of the Tshekh area of Bohemia. If so, the watershed between those rivers and the Saale must have been surmounted, and a passage through a certain amount of foreign country effected, the line of contact between the two populations (and, perhaps also, that between the Germans and Romans) forming a March, or series of Marches—whence the Marchmen or Marcomanni.

The Goths of Mœsia, the Goths who defeated Decius, the Goths who gave the title *Gothicus* to Claudius, and who are, until they appear in the country of the *Getæ*, wholly unknown by the name *Goth*, were (I believe) the Marcomanni of the Marcomannic war, the Marcomanni of the Bohemian frontier, and (consequently) the Marcomanni of the valley and water-system of the Danube.

Until these latter were *on the March* (*i. e.* until they were *Marcomanni*), I believe them to have been *Hermunduri*,—the *Hermunduri* being *Thuringians*.

Observe, for a reason which appears in the sequel, that in these wars the undoubtedly Slavonic Jazyges are in alliance with the undoubtedly German Marcomanni.

I think, from the distribution of the Grutungo-Therving settlements, that no inconsiderable portion of the migration was fluvial, *i. e.* made along the down-flowing waters of the Danube; a fact that will suggest a new interpretation to an old word.

Is this area large enough for the phenomena we attach to it? It is certainly large enough for the philological ones. It is large enough to give us all the dialectal varieties of the Mœso-Gothic. Indeed, as they amount to *nil*, a much smaller one would have sufficed. But is it sufficient for the political ones; for the conquests of Alaric, Euric, Theodoric, &c., for conquests in Bulgaria, Russia, Greece, Asia Minor, Italy, Gaul, and Spain? This is another question, and one requiring a preliminary remark,—possibly the adoption of some new terms.

The magnitude of the area from which a given series of con-

quests or migrations has proceeded must be taken from the portion last occupied. No one connects the occupancy of the United States of America with the old Angle-land of Hanover and Nordalbingia, except in the most remote and indirect manner. No one says that Latian Rome conquered the world. The real conqueror was Rome *plus* a vast amount of superadded power, increasing as time went on. Both these, however, are extreme cases, and have been given only for the sake of illustration. Nevertheless, the same criticism in kind applies here. It is not from their native German occupancy that the soldiers of Alaric, &c., effect their conquests, but from some district originally foreign to them. The Gothic conquest of Italy is from Pannonia, or Mœsia,—countries which we may, in opposition to the original German area, call *the base of the subsequent acquisitions*, or simply the *base*. This implies time—time wherein power accumulates. If so, the real question that bears upon the measure of the magnitude of the original area is the following:—Was it large enough to supply the conquerors of such or such a district from which such or such conquests were afterwards effected? Was the original Angle-land large enough for the reduction of Britain? Was the original Thuringia large enough for certain conquests on the Danube? If this be answered in the affirmative, the question as to whether the one was sufficient for the colonization of America, or the other for the conquests of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, becomes of secondary importance. Hence—

The magnitude of the areas of conquering populations must be measured by the magnitude of their bases.

§ 39. Closely associated with the name of Goth is that of *Vandal*. The Goths, however strange their name, were undoubtedly German. Were the Vandals German also? The simple fact of the alliance is scarcely *primâ facie* evidence of this, though it has often been looked upon as much more. The Jazygo-Marcomannic alliance, lately noticed, was Slavono-German; and it is only one out of many. The names, however, of the Vandal leaders are more German than Slavonic. I give full weight to this. At the same time a German captaincy over a Slavonic soldiery is highly probable. Hence, the evidence of the names is inconclusive.

Is it strong enough to set against the word Vandal itself? I

think not. The word *Vand-al* is almost as certainly *Vened-us*, as *Vened-us* is *Wend*, and *Wend* is the German name for a Slavonian.

For reasons, too lengthy for the present notice, I hold that the history of the Goths and Vandals is the history of a Slavono-German confederacy; the Germans calling the Slavonians Vandals, the Slavonians calling the Germans Goths. If so, though the latter fact is the more doubtful of the two, the German name is Slavonic, the Slavonic German. And this is what we expect. The Thervings, the Grutungs, and other members (if there were any) of the German alliance, knew each other and themselves by special designations; the general term being wanted chiefly for the Non-Germans. On the other hand, the Lygii, Silingi, Jazyges, &c. wanted no collective name for each other, but did want one for the Grutungs and Thervings. Hence, the Slavonians became Wends or Vandals, or Vindelici; the Germans Getæ, Gaudæ, or Gothi.

§ 40. The evidence in favour of the current opinion, that the element *Vis-* means *west*, and that *Visi-Goth* = *Western Goth*, is not conclusive.

The chief fact in its favour is the name *Ostro-Goth*, to which *Western Goth* seems a sort of correlative. Yet such correlation is by no means necessary.

a. In no manuscript of any author has the name been found with a *-t*, *i. e.* *Westro-Goth*. Yet the *t-* in *wes-t* is as essential as the *-t* in *eas-t*.

b. *Vesus*, as a simple name, occurs in Sidonius Apollinaris:—

“Burgundio, *Vesus*, Alites,
Bisalta, Ostrogothus.”

Who the *Vesi* were is one of the hardest problems in ancient ethnology. A case may be made out in favour of their being Ugrian, and a case may be made out in favour of their being Turk.

The unsatisfactory character of the explanation of the term *Visi-Goth* affects its correlative *Ostro-Goth*. Dealing, as I do, with the word as Slavonic rather than German, I see in the element *Ostro*, the Slavonic *Ostrog* = *island*, the meaning of the word being *Island-Goth*, the islands being those at the

mouth of the Danube.* This, however, is only a suggestion. That *Ostro* = *Ost* = *East* (as in *Ost-phalia*), I positively disbelieve.

§ 41. In speaking of the extent to which ancient authorities identified not only the Daci and Getæ, but the Daci Getæ, and *Thraces*, I remarked upon the complications thereby introduced into the Getic hypothesis, *i. e.* the doctrine that the Getæ were Germans. If so, the Thraces were German also. I suggested that this might prove too much. I must now anticipate an objection of the same kind to my own hypothesis. If the Goths were so little German as they are said to be, a great deal of history hitherto considered German must be transferred to some other family; *e. g.* to that of the Goths of Gothland in Scandinavia, the Geats of the Baltic countries, the Jutes of Jutland, &c. Now, I not only recognise the necessity of this transfer, but find that in every case where the word appears, the previous existence of a population other than German is to be inferred, and that upon separate substantive evidence, wholly independent of the present hypothesis, except so far as, in certain cases equally susceptible of a German and a non-German explanation, it suggests the former.

To what division, stock, or group is this transfer to be made? I answer the Lithuanic, or (if we prefer the expression) the Prussian. It might, indeed, be called the Gothic, or Getic, the Gothonian, or Gothinian.

This does not mean the Goth- (or Get-) was the name by which the Lithuanians designated themselves. It was rather the name by which they were designated by their neighbours, *when those neighbours were Slavonic*.

If all this be true, the interpretation of the different forms of the root *G-t* must be that of the root *W-l*, in *Wales*. This (as we all know) means a native of certain counties, west of Hereford and Shrewsbury; the counties of Carmarthen, Radnor, Merioneth, &c. But it is not, for that reason, a native name. It is no *Welsh* word at all; it is German; and in more countries than one, where a German and a non-German population come in contact, the German uses it to denote his opposite. It applies to Italy, which, in the eyes of a Tyrolese, is

* See in page c,—“Corporibus premitur *Peuce*.”

Wales. He calls it *Welsh-land*. It applies to the *Walloon*s of the Forest of Ardennes, who are *Welsh-men* also. All these are *Wel-sh*; not because they are really so, but because the Germans so call them. Hence, the true inference from the remarkable distribution of this name, and its appearance at distant points, is the presence of a German population in the neighbourhood of its occurrence.

Mutatis mutandis this applies to the Slavonians and Lithuanians.*

§ 42. *The original High-German area.*—Is *Hesse* too small an area for the High-Germans, the High-Germans of Suabia, Franconia, Alsatia, Switzerland, Bavaria, Austria, and (in the matter of dialect) Thuringia—the High-Germans whose history is that of the Alemanni, the Suevi (so far as they were the German conquerors of Suabia), the Franks of Franconia and Franche Compté, and the Burgundians? I think not—admitting it to be full small. On the other hand, however, we must look at the *base*, and the conditions under which the spread of the High-Germans was effected. This was the ancient *Decumates Agri*, a country eminently fitted as a point wherein the conquests in question might originate, and eminently easy of conquest in the first instance. All history, from the time of Cæsar to that of Augustulus, speaks to its weakness and disorganization.

§ 43. *The original Platt-Deutsch Area.*—This was the district where the *Hessians* were called *Chatti*, and as *Chatti* was the name that reached Italy, it must have been Platt-Deutsch Germans from whom the Romans took their nomenclature.

* For the fuller illustration of this, I must refer to the Notes and Epilegomena of my edition of the *Germania*—premising that, though the doctrine there laid down is valid, as far it goes, it does not meet *all* the facts. The doctrine there laid down is the one that appears here—viz. that *G-t* was the name by which the western branch of the Sarmatian stock (*i.e.* the Slavonians), designated the Eastern (*i.e.* the Lithuanians). I have since satisfied myself that the word is Ugrian as well as Sarmatian. If so, it is probably Lithuano-Slavonic only in the way that *Briton* is English, implying, for the parts of Lithuania where it occurs, a previous Ugrian occupancy, and a subsequent Lithuanic displacement. The fuller development of this view, I hope, ere long, to exhibit, along with the principles of criticism on which it rests.

The High-Germans were to the *Chatti* as the Grutungo-Thervings* to the Hermunduri, *Chatti* being the Low-German form of *Hesse*.

The Rhine—the watershed between the Ruhr and Lippe—the Mayne—and the Hessian frontier, give us the suggested area—understated rather than overstated. Whether the southern parts of Darmstadt, the parts above the first Slavonic local name—that of the river Weschnitz—were Platt-Deutsch or Hessian is uncertain. Neither is it certain whether the encroachments on the left bank of the Upper Rhine were Platt-Deutsch or High-German. The form in *tt*, however, for *Catti*, induces me to lay the area of the former division to the West of Hesse, as well as to the north-west, though upon this point I speak with diffidence. At any rate, the Lower and Middle Rhine were Platt-Deutsch.

The High-Germans were chiefly *Catti*, the name being more or less generic.

The so-called Goths were chiefly Hermunduri, the name being, more or less, generic also.

The Platt-Deutsch tribes were known by their several specific denominations, *i. e.* they were known better and more intimately. To this division I allot the Mattiaci, Ubii, Usipetes (Usipii under a Keltic form), and, earlier still, the Sicambri,—perhaps also the Bructeri, though these may have been Saxon or transitional.

The names may be Gallic rather than German, *i. e.* names by which the Gauls spoke of certain Germans to the Romans rather than those by which those Germans designated themselves. *Tencteri* = *Tenct-wære* (just as *Bructeri* = *Breocht-wære*) has the best claim to be called a German gloss.

The great unequivocally Platt-Deutsch achievement in history was the conquest of Saxony, and north-western Sarmatia. What is the area required for this? For the answer to this question no *à priori* views are necessary. We know that Saxony and north-western Sarmatia were conquered from the Lower Rhine—say Cleves, Juliers, Berg, and the parts about

* I use this name for the purposes of investigation only, not recommending it generally. I have no hope of seeing the exceptionable term *Goth* replaced by a more convenient and accurate one.

Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). We know, too, that northern France was conquered from the Lower Rhine and Ysel—other portions of Germany resisting.

§ 44. I conclude with a remark upon two populations hitherto not mentioned by name—(1) the Burgundians, (2) and the Franks.

A. (1.) *The Burgundians*.—A document of, perhaps, the eighth century, in noticing the high tract of lands between Ellwangen and Anspach, has the following expression,—in Waldo, qui vocatur *Virgunnia*.

Grimm looks for the derivation of this word in the Mæso-Gothic word *faîrguni*, Old High-German *fergund* = *woody hill-range*. He also quotes the variations *Vergunt*, *Virgunda*, and *Virgunndia*.

I have little doubt but that this is the name of the tract of land from which the name *Burgundi* arose; and that it is the one which fixes their locality.

Part of the Burgundian history is probably that of the *Franks*, since, it is not likely that, between the Germans who gave the name to Burgundy, and the Germans who gave the name to *Franche-Comté*, there was much ethnological difference, even if there were political ones; in other words, it is likely that some Burgundians were *Franks*.

The Μαρούγγοι of Ptolemy, on the Thuringian frontier, were Burgundian.

But these Μαρούγγοι are *Merovingians*.

Hence, the Merovingians of *France* are Merovingians, not because they were the Merovingians of the conquerors of that empire, but because they were the Merovingians of Burgundy, or (perhaps more specifically still, of) *Franche-Comté*.

(2.) Part of the Burgundian history was never German at all. Pliny (H. N. iv. 14) writes:—"Germanorum genera *quinque*: Vindili, quorum pars *Burgundiones*, Varini, Carini, Guttones. Alterum genus Ingævones, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni ac Chaucorum gentes. Proximi autem Rheno Istævones, quorum pars Cimbri mediterranei; Hermiones, quorum Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherusci. Quinta pars Peucini, Basternæ . . contermini Dacis."

This is somewhat strange for a people of Franconia. Its proper place was, surely, with the Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, &c.

To this it may be added, that there are several isolated actions, such as a contest with the Goths, and another with Fastida, king of the Gepidæ, which give us *Burgundiones* too far down the Danube, to leave the history of the Burgundians of Burgundy so simple as it appears at first. There must be either migration or another population called *Burgundian*.

The second alternative seems preferable; indeed, it is almost forced upon us. Just as there might be *Marcomanni* wherever there was a *March*, might there be *Burgundians* wherever there was a *Virgunnia*.

(3.) The *Burgundiones* of Pliny, I hold to have been—

a. The Φρουγουνδίωνες of Ptolemy.

b. Also, the Ούρουγούνδοι of Zosimus.

c. Also, the Βουρούγουνδοι of Agathias.

They were occupants of the parts east of the Upper Vistula, or between the Vistula and Bug. They were well known to the Greek writers of the Byzantine empire; and were looked upon as Scythians or Huns.

B. *The Franks*.—If *Frank* = *axe-bearers*, the name may appear as often as *axes* are the characteristic weapon.

If *Frank* = *free*, the name may appear as often as the attribute *freedom* occurs. In either case there may have been more *Frank* populations than one.

Hence, instead of assuming migrations to account for the Franks of *France*, the Franks of *Franche-Comté*, and the Franks of *Franconia*, we may simply suppose them to be Franks of a different division of the Frank name.

The *Franks* were the *Marchmen* of the Roman frontier; and I submit to the reader the doctrine, that they called themselves *Franks* (or *free*) because they stood in opposition to their fellow-Germans, who were subject to Rome.

A German of the Decumates Agri was not a Frank because he was not really *free*.

The Burgundian of the interior country was not a *Frank*. Really *free* he was; but, as his freedom was not contrasted with

the dependence of his neighbours, it was not necessary for him to call himself so.

What is gained by the hypothesis? To say nothing about the minor migrations, it gets over the difficulty involved in the fact of the Franks of Franconia being *High*, those of the Lower Rhine, *Low* Germans.

(1.) Probus had to deal with both Alemanni and Franks. It is *probable* that these were the Franks of *Franconia*.

The Franks whom Aurelian chastised were certainly so; and, upon the whole, I think it is these Franconian Franks who appear earliest in history.

The Franconian Franks conquered *Franche-Comté*.

(2.) The *Salii* were Franks of the Lower Rhine, and of the Platt-Deutsch division. The name spread itself through the arms of Clovis and Charlemagne.

In *France*, the Franks of the Lower Rhine, and the Franks of the Upper Rhine met in the parts about *Franche-Comté*, and combined; the former swamping the latter, and making it appear as if *Franche-Comté* and *France* took their names from the same Franks—such not being the case.

the dependence of the nation on the world for its supplies of food and clothing is a fact which is not generally recognized. The nation is a vast territory, and it is not possible for it to produce all the food and clothing which it needs. It is therefore dependent on the world for its supplies of food and clothing. This dependence is a source of weakness for the nation, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence. The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of raw materials, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence.

The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of capital, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence. The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of technology, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence.

The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of labor, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence. The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of land, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence.

The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of water, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence. The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of air, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence.

The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of fire, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence. The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of earth, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence.

The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of sun, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence. The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of moon, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence.

The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of stars, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence. The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of planets, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence.

The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of galaxies, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence. The nation is also dependent on the world for its supplies of universes, and this dependence is another source of weakness. The nation is therefore in a position of great vulnerability, and it is one of the reasons why the nation is so vulnerable to foreign influence.

THE
ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

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PART I.

CHAPTER I.

GERMAN ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—LATEST DATE
FOR ITS INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. THE English language came from Germany, having been native and indigenous to no part of any of the British Islands.

The English language came from Germany; the locality whence it spread into that part of Europe being unknown. If known, it would form no important part of our present investigations; the questions which it involves belonging to general ethnography. They are, however, touched upon in the third preliminary dissertation.

The chief population by which the English language was introduced into England from Germany was that of the *Angles*; and the name by which it was first known was that of the *Angle tongue*—*lingua*, or *sermo Anglorum*, in the Latin, *Englisc spræc* in the native language.

The *Angle* language was also called *sermo*, or *lingua Saxonum*; and out of these two synonyms has grown the compound term *Anglo-Saxon*. Hence the Anglo-Saxon is the English in its oldest known form.

The English language stands to the Anglo-Saxon in the relation of a derived language to a mother tongue, or (chang-

ing the expression) the English may be called the Anglo-Saxon in its *most modern* form. The Anglo-Saxon, on the other hand, may, with equal propriety, be called the English in its *most ancient* form.

§ 2. The English language came from Germany.

When?

When was the mother-tongue of the present English first introduced into Britain? When, and how? Was it introduced at once, or was it introduced by degrees? Was its introduction the work of a few years, or of many generations?

It is safe to say that it was introduced gradually; indeed, at the present moment, it is by no means universal. It has not got to the whole of Wales even now; nor yet to the whole of Scotland; nor yet to the whole of Ireland; nor yet to the whole of the Isle of Man.

Much as the English language has, in recent times, spread itself over such countries as America, Australia, and New Zealand, did the Anglo-Saxon of early times spread itself over England. In America, Australia, and New Zealand, there were the original native languages, originally spoken by the original inhabitants. There was just the same in England. In America, Australia, and New Zealand, the native languages still continue to be spoken side by side with the English, although only partially. It is just the same in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man. Welsh is spoken in Wales, Manks in the Isle of Man, Scotch Gaelic in the Highlands of Scotland, and Irish Gaelic in Ireland.

It is safe to say that the English language had fixed itself in certain parts of Britain as early as A.D. 600 — *as early as A.D. 600, if not earlier*. It was, however, only *in certain parts* that it had fixed itself: it had not spread over the whole island. The exact area which it covered is uncertain.

§ 3. At the beginning of the seventh century the English or Anglo-Saxon history first becomes trustworthy — it first becomes *historical* so to say. There has been trustworthy history before, but it has been the history of *Britain*, not of *England*. The men and women with whom it has dealt have been British and Roman rather than English and German.

There has, also, been, anterior to the beginning of the seventh

century, a trustworthy history of certain German populations ; but it has been the history of certain *Germans on the soil of Germany*, not on the soil of *England*.

The history of the Germans, as opposed to the Britons and Romans, and of the Germans of Britain, as opposed to the Germans of Germany, is trustworthy from A.D. 600, and even then it is only partially so. Indeed, all we can say of A.D. 600 is, that a few well-authenticated statements, and a few documents, apply to it ; and when we have said this, we have said nearly all. Anything like continuous history does not occur until more than a century afterwards. Hence, A.D. 600 is the date of our first credible facts ; facts which are few in number, and isolated.

Observe—The date A.D. 600 is not exactly the correct one, but it is given because it is in round numbers, and, consequently, convenient. The real date is A.D. 597.

The dawn of historical truth breaks upon A.D. 597, because the last decennium of the sixth century is the date of the introduction of Christianity amongst the Angles.

Sent by Pope Gregory, with Frank interpreters, Augustine first preached to Æthelbert, King of Kent.—

“Erat eo tempore (A.D. 597) rex Ædilberct in Cantia potentissimus, qui ad confinium usque Humbræ, fluminis maximi, quo Meridiani et Septentrionales Anglorum populi dirimuntur, fines imperii tetenderat—Acceperant (*i.e.* the missionaries with Augustine) autem—de *gente Francorum* interpretes.”—*Beda, Hist. Ecclesiast.*, lib. i. c. 25.

Although this extract has been made from the Ecclesiastical History of Beda, it does not contain the historical facts alluded to, since those which it conveys by no means either rest upon contemporary evidence in the first instance, or can be traced to it in any very satisfactory manner. They rest upon the evidence of Beda, who lived 130 years after the events described, and in a different part of our island ; so that the power of Ædilberct (Æthelbert), and the limits of his dominion, may or may not be realities. There is, perhaps, a presumption in favour of their being so.

The true pieces of evidence lie in the Papal Letters of Gregory—their authenticity being assumed. These we find

in extenso in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. I by no means say that, as a general rule, the presumptions are in favour of the authenticity of documents of this kind. In the present case, however, they may be taken as they are found—without being refined on, or demurred to, unless special reason is shown.

Such being the case, we find that there was a population in Britain, A.D. 600, sufficiently considerable to require, on the part of the missionaries who would convert them, a fresh language; a language neither British nor Roman, but German. Hence, A.D. 600 is the latest date that can be assigned to the German settlements in Britain.

§ 4. That the Germans to whom Augustine preached, and over whom Æthelbert reigned, were, *to a great extent*, the ancestors of the present English, and that they were Germans belonging to the Angle branch of the German stock, is nearly certain. It is, however, by no means certain that they were *exclusively* so. Some may have been Angle. The majority, indeed, may have been so: but some portion may have been Frank, Lombard, Goth, or aught else.

The refinements upon the current doctrine that this remark suggests will be noticed hereafter.

CHAPTER II.

GERMAN ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—EARLIEST DATE FOR ITS INTRODUCTION.—THE BELGIAN HYPOTHESIS.

§ 5. THE English language came from Germany. When? Before A.D. 600. How much? The *latest* possible date of its introduction has been examined. We now examine the *earliest*.

The earliest notice of a well-known German population, with a well-known German name,—a population likely to have introduced into England the mother-tongue of the present English,—is in the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii*, the date of which most probably lies between A.D. 369 and A.D. 408.

It is necessary to put the statement thus guardedly; since I by no means deny the existence of isolated German settlements at an earlier period; I only deny that they represent the stream of population by which Britain became converted into England.

I illustrate this by naming some of the localities where German settlements earlier than the break-up of the Roman Empire in Britain have, on either sufficient or insufficient grounds, been supposed to have existed—German settlements not necessarily Angle, but only German; German proper, or Scandinavian, as the case may have been.

a.—Filey Bay.—The termination *wic* is German: it occurs in the *Gabrantovicorum Sinus* (probably Filey Bay). The *a priori* existence of Germans here is by no means improbable. Hence, the *Gabrantovicorum Sinus*, or Filey Bay, is a possible German locality in Britain for the time of Ptolemy; Ptolemy being the author who mentions it. At the same time, it may be nothing of the kind. Be it, however, what it may,—be it ever so German, it cannot well be supposed to have belonged to the population that introduced the mother-

tongue of the present English. Although German in the time of Ptolemy (supposing it to have been so), it may have been Roman in that of Constantine.

b.—Beverley, &c.—The termination *-wære* is German. In Anglo-Saxon Cant-*wære* means the inhabitants of Kent. In Latin this *-wære* becomes *-uarii*, as Chatt-*uarii* in Tacitus, Boruct-*uarii* in Beda. Now Ptolemy gives us a Pet-*uaria*, and a Vand-*uaria*; the former near the *Gabrantovicorum Sinus*, at Beverley, or Patrington; the latter on the south-west coast of Scotland. Here, again, there are the elements of a hypothesis in favour of an early German settlement. Grant that there were several such. It is by no means certain that they were Angle, and it is unlikely that they were permanent. They may have been German when the Romans found them, Roman when they left them.

c.—Isle of Thanet.—A passage in Nennius shows that the name of the Isle of *Thanet* was not British. The British name was *Ruichim*. “Gortigernus autem suscepit eos benigne, et tradidit eis insulam quæ vocatur lingua eorum (*i.e.* Saxonum) *Taneth*, Britannico sermone *Ruichim*” (cap. 29). Nevertheless, an author so early as Solinus, who (although of an unascertained date) has never been brought down so low as the fifth century, writes: “*Adtanatos* insula adspiratur freto Gallico a Britanniae continente æstuario tenui separata,” &c. (Cap. 22).

d.—The Legions.—More than one of the military detachments settled on *Roman* Britain may reasonably be considered to have been German.

e.—Again, a case can (and will) be made out for the county of Kent having been more or less German in the 4th century.

f.—The same, again (though less strongly), for a part of Hants.

g.—Lastly, it can be maintained that the Orkney Isles, Shetland, and parts of the north of Scotland may have been German for centuries before Cæsar’s invasion.

Some of these questions will be taken up again in the sequel; at present they are only used as illustrations of the difference between *a* German settlement in Britain, and *the* German settlement; a partial and incomplete occupancy on the part

of Germans of any kind, as opposed to the permanent and preponderating settlement of the *Angle* Germans, the ancestors of the present English.

Partial settlements may have taken place at any period, and on any part of the soil. Now, whether all those that have been suggested were real or unreal, whether the real ones were important or unimportant, they were *not* the settlements by which the mother-tongue of the present English was introduced.

§ 6. With these preliminaries we may take the texts of the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii*, of which the date has already been given as lying between A.D. 369 and A.D. 408. This, however, is an approximation. Arcadius died in the latter of the two years, and the document is not likely to be later than his death. In A.D. 369 the southern part of Scotland was made into a province by Theodosius, and named by him after the emperor Valens, *Valentia*. Now, as *Valentia* is mentioned in the *Notitia*, the documents cannot have been earlier than that event.

The *Notitia Utriusque Imperii* (see *Grævii Thesaurus*, vol. vii., or *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. xxiii.) contains the following extracts.

A.—PROCONSUL AFRICÆ CUJUS VICARII SEX.

Britanniarum.

COMITES REI MILITARIS SEX.

Britanniarum.

Littoris Saxonici per Britannias. (Cap. i.)

B.—SUB DISPOSITIONE VIRI SPECTABILIS COMITIS LIMITIS
SAXONICI PER BRITANNIAM.

Præpositus numeri Fortensium, Othonæ.

Præpositus militum Tungricanorum, Dubris.

Præpositus numeri Turnacensium, Lemanis.

Præpositus equitum Dalmatarum, Branodunensis, Brano-
duno.

Præpositus equitum Stablesianorum Garionnonensis, Garian-
nono.

Tribunus cohortis primæ Vetasiorum, Regulbio.

Præpositus Legionis II. Aug, Rutupis.

Præpositus numeri Abulcorum, Anderidæ.

Præpositus numeri Exploratorum, Portu Adurni. (Cap. lxxi.)

C.—SUB DISPOSITIONE VIRI ILLUSTRIS MAGISTRI PEDITUM
PRÆSENTIALIS, COMITES MILITUM INFRASCRIPTORUM.

Britanniarum.

Littoris Saxonici per Britannias. (Cap. xix.)

These give us a *Littus Saxonicum* in *Britain*, the following one in *Gaul*.

A.—SUB DISPOSITIONE VIRI SPECTABILIS DUCIS TRACTUS ARMORICANI ET NERVICANI.

Tribunus cohortis Primæ Novæ Armoricæ, Grannona in Littore Saxonico. (Cap. xxxvi. § 1.)

B.—SUB DISPOSITIONE VIRI SPECTABILIS DUCIS BELGICÆ
SECUNDÆ.

Equites Dalmatæ Marcis* in Littore Saxonico. (Cap. xxxvii. § 1.)

In the second and most important of these notices:—

Dubris	=	Dover	in Kent.
Lemanis	=	Lympne	„ do.
Branodunum	=	Brancaster	„ Norfolk.
Gariannonum	=	Burgh Castle	„ do.
Regulbium	=	Reculvers	„ Kent.
Rutupis	=	Richborough	„ do.
Anderida	=	Pevensay	„ Sussex.
Portus Adurni	=	R. Adur	„ do.

This extends the jurisdiction of the *Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam* from the Wash to the Southampton Water,—there, or thereabouts.

The date, then, of the earliest notice of a well-known German population, with a well-known German name—a population likely to have introduced the mother-tongue of the present English,—is the earliest possible date of the *Notitia*, viz. A.D. 369. But—

* This is the word *March*, as in the *Marches of Wales*; and it is a German word.

§ 7. The notice of the *Notitia* is the earliest notice of a permanent German settlement in Britain, only in the eyes of those who disbelieve what may be called the *Belgian hypothesis*; the Belgian hypothesis being this:—

The Belgæ were Germans; and

There were Belgæ in Britain in Cæsar's time.

This is the form in which it is put by a writer,* who has committed himself to the doctrine in its strongest form.

The Belgian hypothesis rests upon a comparison of a map of either ancient or modern Gaul with certain statements of Cæsar, Strabo, and Tacitus. In the map we find that the parts between the Seine and Rhine, or the valleys of the Marne, the Oise, the Somme, the Sambre, the Meuse, and the Moselle, were Belgian. Treves was Belgian; Luxembourg, Belgian; the Netherlands, Belgian. Above all, French Flanders, Artois, and Picardy—the parts nearest Britain—the parts within sight of Kent—the parts from whence Britain was most likely to be peopled—were Belgian.

Now, fair reasons can be given for believing the *Belgæ* to have been German—as German as the Angles of old, as German as the present Germans of Germany, as German as the Dutch of Holland, and, what is more to the purpose, as German as the present Flemings of Flanders, possibly occupants of the ancient, and certainly occupants of the modern, Belgium.

Upon the latter fact we must lay considerable weight. Modern Belgium is as truly the country of two languages and of a double population as Wales, Ireland, or Scotland. There is the French, which has extended itself from the south, and the Flemish, which belongs to Holland and the parts northwards.

In recent times, the French has encroached upon the Flemish, and the Flemish has receded before the French. Hence, nothing is more legitimate than the conclusion, that, at some earlier period, the dialects of the great German stock extended as far south as the parts about Calais. If so, Germans might have found their way into the south-eastern counties of England

* Mr. Adams, in Transactions of Philological Society.

2000 years ago, or even sooner. Hence, instead of the Angles and Saxons having been the first German conquerors of the Britons, and the earliest introducers of the English tongue, Belgæ of Kent, Belgæ of Surrey, Belgæ of Sussex, and Belgæ of Hampshire, may have played an important, though unrecorded, part in that long and obscure process which converted Keltic Britain into German England.

Such views have not only been maintained, but they have been supported by important testimonies and legitimate arguments. Foremost amongst the former come two texts of Cæsar, one applying to the well-known Belgæ of the Continent; the others to certain obscurer Belgæ of Great Britain. When Cæsar inquired of the legates of the Remi, what states constituted the power of the Belgæ, and what was their military power, he found things to be as follows:—“*The majority of the Belgæ were derived from the Germans (plerosque Belgas ortos esse ab Germanis)*. Having in the olden time crossed the Rhine, they settled in their present countries, on account of the fruitfulness of the soil, and expelled the Gauls, who inhabited the parts before them. They alone, within the memory of our fathers, when all Gaul was harassed by the Teutones and Cimbri, forbid those enemies to pass their frontier. On the strength of this they assumed a vast authority in the affairs of war, and manifested a high spirit. Their numbers were known; because, united by relationships and affinities (*propinquitatibus et adfinitatibus conjuncti*), it could be ascertained what numbers each chief could bring with him to the common gathering for the war. The first in numbers, valour, and influence were the Bellovaci. These could make up as many as 100,000 fighting men. Their neighbours were the Suesiones, the owners of a vast and fertile territory. Their king Divitiacus was yet remembered as the greatest potentate of all Gaul; whose rule embraced a part of Britain as well. Their present king was Gallus. Such was his justice and prudence, that the whole conduct of the war was voluntarily made over to him. Their cities were twelve in number; their contingent 50,000 soldiers. The Nervii, the fiercest and most distant of the confederacy, could send as many; the Atrebatæ, 15,000; the Ambiani, 10,000; the Morini, 25,000; the Menapii, 9,000;

the Caleti, 10,000 ; the Velocasses and Veromandui, 10,000 ; the Aduatici, 29,000 ; the Condrusi, Eburones, Cæraſi, and Pæmani, who were collectively called *Germans* (*qui uno nomine Germani appellantur*), might be laid at 40,000.”—*Bell. Gall.* lib. ii. c. 4.

This is the first statement alluded to. The second is, “that the interior of Britain is inhabited by those who are recorded to have been born in the island itself; whereas the sea-coast is the occupancy of immigrants from the country of the *Belgæ*, brought over for the sake of either war or plunder. *All these are called by names nearly the same as those of the States they came from*, names which they have retained in the country upon which they made war, and in the land whereon they settled.”—*Bell. Gall.* lib. v. c. 12.

Each of these extracts may be enlarged on. The sixth book supplies us with the statement that “*Segni Condrusique, ex gente et numero Germanorum, qui sunt inter Eburones Tre-virosque, legatos ad Cæsarem miserunt, oratum, ne se in hostium numero duceret, neve omnium Germanorum, qui essent citra Rhenum, unam esse causam judicaret.*”

These are the most definite and direct statements in Cæsar. The others are of a less decided character. Some go to show that the Nervii and others had certain customs which were more German than Keltic ; others, that they formed part of a German confederacy ; others, that there were Germans on the left bank of the Rhine.

Respecting the Aduatici, there is a statement which would be highly important, if it could be shown beyond doubt that the Cimbri and Teutones were, *each and both*, German. “*Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati; qui, quum iter in provinciam nostram atque Italianam facerent, iis impedimentis, quæ secum agere ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depositis, custodiæ ex suis ac præsidio sex millia hominum una reliquerunt. Hi, post eorum obitum, multos annos a finitimis exagitati, quum alias bellum inferrent, alias illatum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium pace facta, hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt.*”—*Bell. Gall.* lib. ii. c. 29.

So much for Cæsar's notices. Those of Strabo and Tacitus confirm them: they speak decidedly—*Τρηονίροις δὲ συνεχεῖς*

Νέρβιοι, καὶ τοῦτο Γερμανικὸν ἔθνος. (*Strabo*, lib. iv. c. 3.)
 “Treveri et Nervii circa affectationem *Germanicæ* originis ultro
 ambitiosi sunt.”—*Germania*, c. 28.

Lastly, we have the general statement of Cæsar that the
 three divisions into which Gaul falls, one of which is that
 of the Belgæ, “*lingua*, institutis, legibus inter se differunt.”
 —*Bell. Gall.* lib. i. c. 1.

My reasons for believing that the evidence before us is in-
 sufficient, is the circumstance of its being traversed by con-
 flicting facts, and the likelihood of the link of union between
 the Belgæ and the Germans of the left bank of the Rhine
 being a link of a *political* rather than one of an *ethnological*
 nature. There was a partial German conquest of the Belgian
 territory, and a Germano-Belgic confederation. More than
 this is not required from the context of Cæsar; and in the
 face of certain facts more should not be sought. Since—

Strabo's confirmation of Cæsar is only *partial*. He writes,
 that “the Aquitanians are wholly different from the other
 Gauls, not only in language, but in their bodies,—wherein
 they are more like the Iberians than the Gauls. The rest are
 Gallic in look; but not all alike in language. Some differ
a little. Their politics, too, and manners of life differ a
little.”—Lib. iv. c. 1.

The whole context of the extract about the Nervii, and their
 50,000 men, reads like the account of a *confederacy*. They
 were *propinquitatibus et adfinitatibus conjuncti*.

As to the chief positive fact in favour of the Keltic affinities
 of the Belgæ, it lies in the numerous local, national, and indi-
 vidual names of the Belgæ. These agree so closely in form with
 those of the undoubted Gauls, as to be wholly undistinguishable.
 The towns, &c., end in *-acum*, *-briva*, *-magus*, *-dunum*, and
-durum, and begin with *Ver-*, *Cær-*, *Con-*, and *Tre-*, just like
 those of Central Gallia; so that we have—to go no further than
 the common maps—Viriovi-*acum*, Minori-*acum*, Origi-*acum*,
 Turn-*acum*, Bag-*acum*, Camar-*acum*, Nemet-*acum*, Catusi-
acum, Gemini-*acum*, Blari-*acum*, Mederi-*acum*, Tolbi-*acum*;
 Samaro-*briva*; Novio-*magus*, Moso-*magus*; Vero-*dunum*;
 Marco-*durum*; Theo-*durum*; Ver-omandui; Cær-esi; Con-
 drusi; Tre-veri—all Keltic forms and compounds.

Now as Cæsar's informants about the Belgian populations were Belgæ themselves, it is inconceivable that they should have used nothing but Gallic terms, when they spoke of themselves, if they had been Germans. Again,—

The names of the individual Belgian chiefs are as Gallic as those of the towns and nations, *e. g.* *Commius* and *Divitiacus*, and so are those of such Britons as *Cassibelaunus*.

§ 8. Other facts, as well as the opinion of a safe authority, against the German character of the Belgæ, may be seen in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, under the word *Belgæ* (*of Gaul*).

Some lie in the indefinitude of Cæsar's language respecting these same Belgæ. In "describing the position of his troops during the winter of the year B.C. 54–53, he speaks of three legions being quartered in Belgium, or among the Belgæ, while he mentions others as quartered among the Morini, the Nervii, the Essui, the Remi, the Treveri, and the Eburones, all of whom are Belgæ in the wider sense of the term."

Others lie in the *reductio ad absurdum*. If every population which can be construed into *Belgian*, be German as well, several populations, whose Keltic character is beyond doubt, will be transferred from the Keltic stock, which is their right, to the German, which is their wrong, place. The undoubtedly Keltic Veneti will be in this predicament. So will the Mediomatrici of Lorraine; the Leuci, south of the Mediomatrici; and the Parisii of Paris. So will the Aulerci, and others.

Others lie in the expression of Tacitus, concerning the Treveri and Nervii, *circa affectationem*, &c. "The Treveri and Nervii affected a German origin, which, if it be true, must imply that they had some reason for affecting it; and also that they were not pure Germans, or they might have said so. Strabo (p. 192) makes the Nervii Germans. The fact of Cæsar making such a river as the *Marne*, a boundary between Belgic and Keltic peoples, is a proof that he saw some marked distinction between Belgæ and Celtæ, though there were many points of resemblance. Now, as most of the Belgæ were Germans, or of German origin, as the Remi believed or said, there must have been some who were

not Germans or of German origin; and if we exclude the Menapii, the savage Nervii, and the pure Germans, we cannot affirm that any of the remainder of the Belgæ were Germans."

—*Dictionary of Ancient Geography*, v., *Belgæ*.

§ 9. So much against the German character of the Belgæ of Gaul. The chief (perhaps the only) material fact in its favour is the following. The evidence that the Batavi and Caninifates, of Holland, were German, is very strong. Nevertheless, the Batavi formed part of the Gallia of Cæsar. More than this, the names of two Batavian localities, *Lug-dunum* and *Batavo-durum*, are clearly Keltic. There are more ways than one of explaining this. Thus: the towns may have come to us in their Keltic names only, the native ones having been unknown to the early geographers. Or the original population may have been Keltic; the Batavi having been intrusive. I give this argument its full weight; nevertheless, I submit that the balance of reasons is against the Belgæ having been German.

§ 10. The first of the two extracts under notice, the one which has just been considered, suggested the question as to how far a statement made concerning certain Germans on the Belgian side of the Rhine might be extended to the Belgæ. The second induces us to ask how far a statement which applies to the Belgæ of Gaul applies to the south-eastern population of Britain. The first was not decided affirmatively; neither will the second be.

Cæsar states that there were certain Belgians in Britain; but he nowhere says that *Belgæ* was the name by which they were called.

Ptolemy gives us the name *Belgæ*, but he nowhere says that they came from Belgium.

How far do these two authors mean the same population?

Ptolemy's locality, though the exact extent of the area is doubtful, is, to a certain degree, very definitely fixed. The Belgæ lay to the south of the Dobuni, whose chief town was Corineum (*Cirencester*). They also lay to the east and north of the Durotriges of *Dor*-chester. Venta (*Winchester*) was one of the towns, and Aquæ Solis (*Bath*), another; Calleva (*Silchester*) was *not* one of them; on the contrary, it belonged

to the Atrebatii. This coincides nearly with the county of Wilts, parts of Somerset and Hants being also included.

The Belgæ of Ptolemy agree with those of Cæsar only in belonging to the southern parts of Britain. They are chiefly an inland population, and touch the sea only on the south and west; not on the east, or the parts more especially opposite Belgium.

The second name is that of the *Atrebates*. There were *Atrebates* in Britain. In Belgium there were *Atrebates* in *Artois*, which is only *Atrebates* in a modern form. Considerable importance attaches to the fact, that, before Cæsar visited Britain in person, he sent Commius, the Atrebatian, before him. Now, this Commius was first conquered by Cæsar, and afterwards set up as a king over the Morini. That Commius gave much of his information about Britain to Cæsar is likely; perhaps he was his chief informant. He, too, it was who, knowing the existence of Atrebates in Britain, probably drew the inference which has been so lately suggested, viz. that of a Belgæ migration, or a series of them. Yet the Atrebates of Britain were so far from being on the coast, that they must have lain west of London, in Berkshire and Wilts; since Cæsar, who advanced, at least, as far as Chertsey, where he crossed the Thames, meets nothing but Cantii, Trinobantes, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci and Cassi. It is Ptolemy who first mentions the British Atrebates; and he places them between the Dobuni and the Cantii. Now, as the Dobuni lay due west of the Silures of South Wales, we cannot bring the Atrebates nearer the coast than Windsor at most.

Of five other names I take no account—Remi, Hedui, Bibroci, Cauci, and Menapii. The two latter belong to the geography of Ireland; the three former are found only in the Richard of Cirencester.

A further fact against the existence of any notably great German population in Britain lies in a well-known passage of Tacitus. Tacitus, who was fully as well informed in respect to the population of Britain as Cæsar, has a special speculation as to the existence of Germans in that island. He looks out for them. *How* does he find them? Not in the plain straight-

forward way that he would have done had Cæsar's account been correct, and the whole south-eastern coast been German, but doubtfully, and by the circuitous method of an inference. He finds certain light-haired, big-bodied men, and accounts for their being so by the hypothesis of a German origin. *Where* does he find them? Not in Kent and Sussex, but in Scotland.

Upon the whole, the facts against the Belgæ of Britain being at one and the same time, Belgæ from Gaul, and German in blood, largely preponderate against the conclusion to be drawn from the text and context of Cæsar. In my own mind his statement arose out of an *inference*—either one of his own, or one of his probable informant, Commius. The same names appeared on both sides of the Channel, in Britain as well as in Gaul. Out of this fact arose, as a legitimate deduction, the identity or similarity of the two peoples, and, as a somewhat less legitimate one, the doctrine of a recent conquest from Belgium.

§ 11. I will not absolutely commit myself to a similar doctrine in respect to Ptolemy; though, upon the whole, I think that it applies to him also. It is *likely* that his Belgæ were hypothetical; and that no population in Britain gave themselves that name. No traces of it exist. This, however, is of no great weight until it be taken with the difficulties of Ptolemy's text; which, although by no means inconsiderable when compared with those of Cæsar's notice, are still greater when we take it in detail.

“Next to these (viz. the Silures) the Dobuni, and their town Corineum. Next, the Attrebatii, and their town Nalkua. Beyond whom are the Cantii, the easternmost people. Amongst them are these towns: Londinium, Darvenum, Rhutupiæ. Again, south from the Attrebatii and the Cantii, lie the Regni and the town Næomagus. South of the Dobuni (*i. e.* the parts about Corineum=Cirencester) lie the Belgæ, and the towns Ischalis, Hot Springs, Venta. Beyond these, on the west and south, are the Durotriges” (*i. e.* Dorsetshire).

Here we have more than one point of undoubted certainty, *e. g.* *Corineum=Cirencester*, *Hot Springs=Bath*, *Venta=Winchester*; to say nothing about others less universally admitted.

Nevertheless, the Belgæ are a difficult population, lying as far west as Bath, as far east as Winchester—as far west as Bath, and yet having the Durotriges to the *west* also. Were there two towns named Venta for these parts, one in Hants, and the other in Wilts? Not impossible, inasmuch as the word was a *common*, rather than a *proper* name, and there were *Ventæ* elsewhere, *e. g.* (a *Venta Icenorum*) in Norfolk. Such and suchlike assumptions may reconcile the difficulties of the text of Ptolemy. They will, however, not improbably involve a greater amount of complication and hypothesis than the simpler doctrine that Ptolemy's Belgæ, under that name, had no existence in Britain at all, but that the authority of Cæsar had led him to infer it, and also to place them (not very definitely) in the south. This, however, is a suggestion rather than a material fact. The material fact is the non-Germanic character of any Belgæ that might have been there. That there were *some* strangers is likely enough; but that they were a separate substantive population, of sufficient magnitude to be found in all the parts of Britain where Belgic names occurred, and still more that they were Germans, is an unsafe inference; safe, perhaps, if the texts of Cæsar stood alone, but unsafe if we take into consideration the numerous facts, notices, and presumptions which complicate and oppose them.

Hence, the statement that the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii* supplies the earliest notice of a well-known German population with a well-known German name, a population likely to have introduced into England the mother-tongue of the present English, remains valid; the Belgian hypothesis being insufficient to invalidate it.

CHAPTER III.

GERMAN ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—RATE AND MANNER OF ITS DIFFUSION.

§ 12. THE English language came from Germany.

It probably spread from east to west, rather than from west to east.

It spread, too, at the expense and to the obliteration of the previously-existing tongues of Britain.

This means that it wholly and absolutely displaced and superseded them, and that it did *not* mix itself with them, fuse, or amalgamate. Hence, the present English is the genuine descendant of the Angle, and by no means a language intermediate to, and formed out of, any other—Angle and British, Angle and Latin, Angle and Latino-Britannic. There are a few Latin and a few British words in it, but the tongue itself is originally and essentially Angle.

§ 13. The *rate* at which the Angle spread is uncertain; inasmuch as we do not know the exact date and details of its introduction. When Beda, however, wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* the philological condition of Britain was as follows.

The number of languages spoken within the four seas was five.

“Hæc in præsentī, juxta numerum librorum quibus lex divina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summæ veritatis et veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur, Anglorum videlicet, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum, quæ meditatione scripturarum, cæteris omnibus est facta communis.”—*Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i. c. 1.

Of these—

a. The Angle was the mother-tongue of the present English; and it should be remembered that this is the earliest notice of it on the part of any Angle writer; for such Beda was, though his History was written in Latin. It should

be observed, too, that the language is called *Angle*—not *Saxon*.

b. The British was either the mother-tongue of the present Welsh, or a closely-allied dialect.

c. The Scottish bore the same relation to the present Gaelic.

d. The relations of the Pict have given rise to whole volumes of controversy. They have yet to be determined.

e. The Latin was the ecclesiastical Latin of ecclesiastical Rome, as is shown by the context,—*meditatione scripturarum*, &c. It was the Latin, so to say, of the Vulgate. According to the passage before us, it was known to many. If so, either the current statement attributed to Alfred as to the ignorance of the clergy is inaccurate, or a change for the worse must have come over English learning between Beda's time and his. Alfred is said to have been grieved at finding that only two or three clergymen north of the Thames could read the Scriptures.

Beda's list of tongues is more remarkable for what it does *not* contain than for what it *does*. It makes no definite and unequivocal mention of any German tongue except the Angle; no Frisian, no Danish; unless, indeed, the Pict be Danish.

§ 14. More important than this, however, is the fact, that whilst it mentions the Latin, and whilst it mentions the British, it makes no mention of any tongue originating out of the mutual contact of the two, and partaking of the nature of each. It gives us nothing that can be called Latino-Britannic. Yet, undoubtedly, we expect something of this kind; we expect it from the analogies of Italy, France, the Spanish Peninsula, Wallachia or Moldavia, and the Grisons. We expect it on the strength of what we find in all the countries subjugated by the Romans. Each and all of these after the break-up of the Roman Empire appear as Roman. The Gauls were *Romans* at the time of the Frank invasion; the Wallachians are *Rumanyos*, at the present moment; the inhabitants of the Grisons are *Rumonsch*. A recent historian writes, that “the disappearance of the Celtic language in Gaul, during the era of its provincial dependency on Rome, affords, perhaps, the most impressive of all illustrations of the sufferings of the people in that

period. From the Rhine to the Pyrenees a single tongue, though moulded into several different and very dissimilar dialects, was spoken in the time of Julius. It was confined to Armorica in the time of Clovis. In the intervening centuries it had been entirely laid aside throughout the rest of Gaul. By the powerful and wealthy proprietor it was regarded with contempt as a remnant and a badge of ancient barbarism. With his fashionable guests at his villa he conversed in Latin, with grammarians and rhetoricians at the capital in Greek, with his bailiffs perhaps in Celtic. Gradually, though more slowly, his slaves also abandoned the use of that vulgar idiom. They invented a kind of *patois* in which to make themselves intelligible not only to their superiors, but to their fellow-bondsmen, who had been brought together from many distant lands. So universal was the change that they even lost their national appellation, and at the time of the Frankish invasion and conquests were universally spoken of not as Gauls, but as Romans. From this singular compromise between the copious speech of Cicero and the rude discourse of Caractacus, at length emerged that language which excels all others, now vernacular among men, in the precision and delicacy with which it discriminates all the more subtle forms of thought, and all the fluctuating shades of emotion. French bears to Latin the same relation in which English stands to Anglo-Saxon; but there is this most significant distinction, that in France the language of the superior, in England the language of the subordinate, race forms the basis of the modern nomenclature."—*Sir James Stephens' History of France*, vol. i. p. 28.

The details of this change are another matter; so is the exact character of the Latin of the provinces. It may have that of Cicero; it may have been a *lingua rustica*; it may, in some cases, have been no Latin at all; but the language of certain African, Iberian, German, or Slavonic legionaries.

The details, I say, are unimportant; at least to the present question. The really suggestive fact is the discrepancy between Beda's statements and the reasonable expectations of the philologist who speculates upon the language of Roman Britain. The latter believes that by the time of Constantine or Honorius

the Latin has displaced the original British over a considerable portion of the island, and that as a *spoken language*; that it has also undergone certain modifications, partly from the simple effect of time, partly from the contact of the native tongue; finally, that it is known as the *lingua Romana*. In this, he sees a form of speech out of which, if left to itself, a new language would arise, a language which (he judges from analogy) will be like the present French—the same in respect to its original Keltic basis, the same in respect to its predominant, though superadded, Latin elements; the same, or nearly the same, in respect to the ultimate form which similar elements will develop. But as this tongue is *not* left to itself, as it is displaced by that of the Angles, the development is arrested, or rather, the language itself is annihilated; from which it comes that we in England, of the nineteenth century, speak a German language instead of a Roman one—English, instead of French.

§ 15. No mention, then, being made by Beda of any Latino-Britannic tongue, and every analogy being in favour of such a tongue having been developed under the Roman dominion, we arrive at an inference of some importance, *viz.* That in the time of Beda, the Angle language had spread over Britain, to the displacement of the original British, at least as far as the Latin had done so before it.

The parts of Britain that were *least* Angle and most British, or Latino-Britannic, were Cornwall, Wales, and Cumberland.

In this argument it is assumed that the Romans in Britain took the same steps in respect to their language as they did in all the countries they subdued—Greece alone excepted. It is assumed that they diffused the knowledge of their own tongue, and displaced the native. If so, one of two events must have happened; either—

a. Wales, Cornwall, and Cumberland must never have been subjugated to the extent of a displacement of their languages; or,

b. Having been partially subjugated, a British reaction must have taken place.

CHAPTER IV

CRITICISM OF THE CURRENT NOTIONS RESPECTING THE
INTRODUCTION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE FROM GERMANY.

§ 16. THE single consideration of the date when the mother-tongue of the present English came into England has formed the subject of no less than three chapters; three chapters which, in the eyes of many of my readers, may have seemed superfluous. It may have seemed superfluous to have made so long a story out of so simple a matter; to have given two extreme dates (one for the earliest, the other for the latest epoch); to have encumbered these with much discussion; and finally to have arrived at an approximation only. For—be it observed—the true date is not given. It has only been said to lie between two pretty distant periods—A.D. 369 and A.D. 600. It was not earlier than the one, not later than the other. Such is the question of *time*. That of *place* still stands over. Whence came the English language? It has been said that the English language came from Germany.

But Germany, as it stands at present, is a large country; and the name "*Germany*," is an indefinite one. It is foreign to the Germans themselves, who call their own country *Deutschland* (*Dutchland*); their language, *Deutsche Sprache* (*Dutch Speech*), and themselves *Deutsch* (*Dutch*). And Germany, as it was when Britain was first invaded by Germans, was by no means co-extensive with the Germany of the nineteenth century. Pomerania is no true and original part of Germany; Brandenburg is no true and original part of Germany; East and West Prussia are no true and original parts of Germany; Saxony and Lusatia are no true and original parts of Germany. They have all become German since the date of the conquest of Britain; and they were all, at the time when that conquest took place, something other than German. Prussia was Lithuanic; Saxony and Lusatia, Brandenburg and Pomerania,

Slavonic. Other parts were also Slavonic—certainly so in the ninth century, and probably so at a much earlier period—for instance, Mecklingburg, Lauenburg, Altmark, Luneburg, and a part of Holstein were in this predicament.

On the other hand, Holland and parts of Belgium, which are now separated from Germany, may easily have formed part of the Germany of the conquerors of Britain. Holland, indeed, in the eyes of an Englishman, is so eminently German that it is the only part of the continent that he designates, in common parlance, under the name of the *Dutch* country. The name that the German applies to his own country at large the Englishman restricts to Holland.

At the present time the German population of Germany is by no means uniform. Whatever may be the difference within the British Isles between the most extreme forms of the English language, it is greater in Germany: *e. g.* a Bavarian and a Holsteiner are far more unlike than a Cornishman and a man from Aberdeen—these instances being taken as strong contrasts. Just as little uniform was the population of ancient Germany. Some portions of it came under the name of Frank, some under that of Saxon, and some under that of Thuringian: and in many cases the change of name corresponded with a change of language.

In the course of a few chapters these distinctions will come out clearer. At present, however, it is sufficient to state, that on the southern frontier of Germany, Gaul was Keltic, and that there were more Slavonians on the west side of the Elbe than there were Germans on the east. Northwards, beyond the Eyder, came the Scandinavians, who were Germans, but not in the sense that the Angles and Franks were Germans.

Between these boundaries lay those portions of the Germanic populations, which, from their geographical position, are the likeliest, *à priori*, to have helped to people England, and they are best considered under two heads:—

a. That of the proper *seaboard*, or the coast from the Rhine to the Eyder.

b. That of the rivers, *i. e.* the communications between the ocean and the inland country.

This double division is *sufficient*, since it is not likely that

Britain was peopled by any tribes which were not either maritime, or the occupants of a river. On the other hand, it is *necessary*, since, although the *à priori* view is in favour of the *coast* having supplied the British immigration, the chances of its having proceeded from the interior by the way of the large rivers Rhine, Weser, and Elbe, must also be taken in consideration.

§ 17. The English language came from Germany.

From what part of Germany? From the part where the language called Anglo-Saxon was spoken. Where was this?

If Britain had been peopled from Germany as America and Australia have been peopled from Britain, within either the memory of man, or under the full light of clear, authentic, cotemporary and trustworthy history, such a question as this last would have been superfluous, for a moderate amount of information would have supplied the answer. But it was not during a literary period that Keltic Britain became transformed into German England; on the contrary, it was during a time of darkness and disturbance, when the classical literature had died out, and before the literature of Christianity had been developed. The evidence of this will soon be laid before the reader.

Again, if the Anglo-Saxon language had still kept its ground in Germany, even in an altered form, the reply would have been easy; and a reference to the map would have been sufficient. But this is not the case. Throughout the whole length and breadth of Germany there is not one village, hamlet, or family which can show definite signs of descent from the continental ancestors of the Angles of England. There is not a man, woman, or child who can say, *I have pure Angle blood in my veins, and my language is the English*. In no nook or corner can dialect or sub-dialect of the most provincial form of the German speech be found, which shall have a similar pedigree with the English. The Angles of the Continent are either exterminated or undistinguishably mixed up with the other Germans in proportions more or less large, and in combinations more or less heterogeneous. The history of the conquest and conversion of the Saxons by Charlemagne is the history of

this fusion or extinction ; and it is this that makes it so difficult to argue backwards from the present state of the Angles of Germany to an earlier one, and so to reconstruct their history.

Friesland, indeed, if we look to the present condition of the languages allied to the English, and spoken in Germany, gives us the nearest approximation to the mother-country of the mother-tongue of the English. Nevertheless, it is not exactly from Friesland that the Anglo-Saxon was derived ; so that Friesland is only an approximation.

Hence, the *place* from which our language was derived, as well as the *time* at which it was introduced, forms a subject of investigation.

§ 18. This may also seem superfluous. It cannot be denied that current historians treat the matter differently ; that they dispose of it briefly. They give us a definite date—time and place as well. They tell us from what parts of Germany each division of our Germany invaders came. They tell us who led them. They tell us what parts of the country of the Britons they severally invaded. They give us other details besides. For—

The current histories run as follows—There were more settlements than one, and the details were thus :—

First settlement of invaders from Germany.—In the year 449 A.D. certain invaders from northern Germany made the first permanent settlement in Britain. Ebbsfleet, in the Isle of Thanet, was the spot where they landed ; and the particular name that these tribes gave themselves was that of *Jutes*. Their leaders were Hengist and Horsa. Six years after their landing they had established the Kingdom of Kent ; so that the County of Kent was the first district where the original British was superseded by the mother-tongue of the present English, introduced from Germany.

Second settlement of invaders from Germany.—In the year 477 A.D. invaders from Northern Germany made the second permanent settlement in Britain. The coast of Sussex was the spot whereon they landed. The particular name that these tribes gave themselves was that of *Saxons*. Their leader was Ælla. They established the kingdom of the South Saxons (Sussex) ; so that the county of Sussex was the

second district where the original British was superseded by the mother-tongue of the present English, introduced from Northern Germany.

Third settlement of invaders from Germany.—In the year 495 A.D. invaders from Northern Germany made the third permanent settlement in Britain. The coast of Hampshire was the spot whereon they landed. Like the invaders last mentioned, these tribes were *Saxons*. Their leader was Cerdic. They established the kingdom of the West Saxons (Wessex); so that the county of Hants was the third district where the original British was superseded by the mother-tongue of the present English introduced from Northern Germany.

Fourth settlement of invaders from Germany.—A.D. 530, certain *Saxons* landed in Essex; so that the county of Essex was the fourth district where the original British was superseded by the mother-tongue of the present English, introduced from Northern Germany.

Fifth settlement of invaders from Germany.—These were *Angles* in Norfolk and Suffolk. This settlement, of which the precise date is not known, took place during the reign of Cerdic in Wessex. The fifth district where the original British was superseded by the mother-tongue of the present English was the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; the particular dialect introduced being that of the *Angles*.

Sixth settlement of invaders from Germany.—In the year 547 A.D. invaders from Northern Germany made the sixth permanent settlement in Britain. The south-western counties of Scotland, between the rivers Tweed and Forth, were the districts where they landed. They were of the tribe of the *Angles*, and their leader was Ida. The south-western parts of Scotland constituted the sixth district where the original British was superseded by the mother-tongue of the present English, introduced from Northern Germany.

§ 19. Such are the details of the Anglo-Saxon settlements as taken from the fullest work upon the subject, Sharon Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons;" and it may be added, that they rest upon *data* which ninety-nine-hundredths of the investigators of the period to which they refer acquiesce in.

Supposing them, then, to be accurate, they only require a few additional facts to make them sufficient for the purposes of criticism. They only require a notice of the different parts of Germany which these three nations came from respectively.

The current doctrines upon these points are as follows:—

That the geographical locality of the Jutes was the Peninsula of Jutland; and

That that of Angles was the present Duchy of Sleswick; so that they were the southern neighbours of the Jutes; and

That that of the Saxons was a small tract north of the Elbe, and some district—more or less extensive—between the Elbe and Rhine.

The correctness of all this being assumed, the further question as to the relation which the different immigrant tribes bore to each other finds place; and it would only be taking up the different problems under investigation in their due order and sequence, if we asked about the extent to which the Jute differed from (or agreed with) the Angle or the Saxon, and the relations of the Angle and the Saxon to each other. Did they speak different languages?—different dialects of a common tongue!—or dialects absolutely identical? Did they belong to the same or to different confederations? Was one polity common to all? Were the civilisations similar?

Questions like these being answered, and a certain amount of mutual difference being ascertained, it would then stand over to inquire whether any traces of this original difference were still to be found in the modern English. Have any provincial dialects characteristics which are Jute rather than Angle? or Angle rather than Saxon? Are (or are not) certain local customs Saxon rather than Angle, certain points of dialect Angle rather than Saxon, and *vice versâ*? Supposing all this to be accurate, we know where to look for the answers.

In Kent the original British was superseded by the dialect of the Jutes—there being also Jutes in parts of Hants, and in the Isle of Wight; and

In Sussex the original British was superseded by the Saxon of Ælla's followers; and

In the following counties it was the Saxon of Cerdic that displaced the British—Hants, Dorset, Wilts, Somerset, Surrey,

Gloster, Buckinghamshire ; these counties constituting the important kingdom of the West Saxons (Wessex) ; and

It was by the extension of the Saxon introduced by the invaders of A.D. 530 that the original British of Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire was superseded ; and—

It was by the extension of the language introduced by the Angle invaders of Norfolk and Suffolk that the original British of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, and of parts of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire, was superseded ; and lastly—

It was by the extension of the language introduced by the Angles of the south of Scotland that the original British was superseded in the following counties—Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and the North Midland counties.

Hence, all, as aforesaid, being accurate, we should seek For the characteristic *differentiæ* of the Jutes, in Kent, part of Sussex, and the Isle of Wight.

For those of Saxons in Sussex, Essex, Hants (Wessex), and Middlesex.

For those of the Angles in Norfolk, Suffolk, Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, &c.

Or, changing the expression :—

The *differentiæ* of the people of Kent, part of Sussex, and the Isle of Wight (if any) would be explained by the *differentiæ* of the original Jute immigrants ;

Those of the rest of Sussex, Wessex, Essex, and Middlesex, by those of the Saxons ;

Those of the people of Norfolk, &c., by those of the Angles.

As to the *Saxon* portion of England, everything would be transparently clear, inasmuch as three English counties, at the present moment, take their name from the word *Seaxe* (*Saxons*), and preserve the denomination of three *Saxon* kingdoms—*viz.* *Es-sex*, *Sus-sex*, and *Middle-sex*. There is no doubt as to the analysis and import of these compounds. *Essex* is a slightly modified form of East Seaxe (East Saxons) Middlesex of Middle Seaxe, and Sussex of Suð-Seaxe (South Saxons), and when we find them in the pages of a Latin writer, their

equivalents are *Orientalis Saxones*, *Australis Saxones* and *Mediterranei Saxones*. Besides these, there is a fourth compound of *-seaxe* (*-sex*) which is now obsolete. The counties of Hants, Wilts, Berks, Gloster, Dorset, with parts of the counties adjacent, originally constituted the kingdom of the *West Saxons*, or *Wes-sex*.

§ 20. This, as must be repeated, assumes the sufficiency of the materials for an early history. But the present writer is neither the first nor the last inquirer who has pronounced against them.

Dr. Lappenberg writes,—"The evident worthlessness of these traditions renders the more necessary a strict examination of the accounts of their conquests in Britain, given by the immigrants themselves. We find these in Bede, who, however, records but very few circumstances relative to that event from his own sources, but, for the most part, transcribing Gildas, mingles both traditions;* and in the earliest English chroniclers, among whom Henry of Huntingdon, from his greatest detail, is particularly valuable and interesting. As these narratives are accompanied by dates, the first point to be ascertained by the historic inquirer is, the system, according to which these dates were calculated before the Christian writers, through whom only they are transmitted to us, reduced them to the Julian Calendar and the Christian era. Britain, in the latter half of the fifth century, could no longer have reckoned its years by Roman consuls and emperors; the epoch of the birth of Christ, first introduced by Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, could not in any case have been adopted before its close, and before the conversion of an Anglo-Saxon prince, and probably not before the Christian religion had gained a considerable footing in the country. Of the chronology brought by the Saxons into Britain we know little more than that they reckoned by lunar years, and increased their year (which, like that once in use among the Romans, consisted of ten months only) by the addition of two new months, and of an intercalary month, on the adoption of the Christian Roman calendar.

Hence, in assaying, as it were, such chronological data,

* The Angle and the British.

and whatever is dependent on them, we must have the greater regard to their intrinsic credibility, seeing that, for a period of nearly a hundred and fifty years, we are unable to adduce a single trustworthy authority for the history of the Pagan Anglo-Saxons."—Vol. i. p. 70.

Mr. Kemble is equally decided.—“ We are ignorant of what *fasti* or even mode of reckoning the revolutions of the seasons prevailed in England, previous to the introduction of Christianity. We know not how any event before the year 600 was recorded, or to what period the memory of man extended. There may have been rare annals: there may have been poems: if such there were they have perished, and have left no trace behind, unless we are to attribute to them such scanty notices as the Saxon Chronicle adds to Beda's account. From such sources, however, little could have been gained of accurate information either as to the real internal state, the domestic progress or the development of a people. The dry bare entries of the Chronicles in historical periods may supply the means of judging what sort of annals were likely to exist before the general introduction of the Roman alphabet and parchment, while, in all probability, runes supplied the place of letters, and stones, or the *beech*-wood, from which their name is derived, of *books*. Again, the traditions embodied in the epic, are pre-eminently those of kings and princes; they are heroical, devoted to celebrate the divine or half-divine founders of a race, the fortunes of their warlike descendants, the manners and mode of life of military adventurers, not the obscure progress, household peace, and orderly habits of the humble husbandman. They are full of feasts and fighting, shining arms and golden goblets: the gods mingle among men almost their equals, share in the same pursuits, are animated by the same passions of love, and jealousy, and hatred; or, blending the divine with the mortal nature, become the founders of races, kingly, because derived from divinity itself. But one race knows little of another, or its traditions, and cares as little for them. Alliances or wars alone bring them in contact with one another, and the terms of intercourse between the races will, for the most part, determine the character, under which foreign heroes shall be admitted into the na-

tional epos, or whether they shall be admitted at all. All history, then, which is founded in any degree upon epical tradition (and national history is usually more or less so founded) must be to that extent imperfect, if not inaccurate; only when corrected by the written references of contemporaneous authors, can we assign any certainty to its records.

“Let us apply these observations to the early events of Saxon history: of Kent, indeed, we have the vague and uncertain notices which I have mentioned; even more vague and uncertain are those of Sussex and Wessex. Of the former, we learn that in the year 477, Ælli, with three sons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa, landed in Sussex; that in the year 485 they defeated the Welsh, and that in 491 they destroyed the population of Anderida. Not another word is there about Sussex before the arrival of Augustine, except a late assertion of the military pre-eminence of Ælli among the Saxon chieftains. The events of Wessex are somewhat better detailed; we learn that in 495 two nobles, Cerdic and Cyneríc, came to England, and landed at *Cerdices-ora*, where, on the same day, they fought a battle; that in 501 they were followed by a noble named Port, who, with his two sons, Bieda and Mægla, made a forcible landing at Portsmouth: and that in 508, they gained a great battle over a British king, whom they slew, together with five thousand of his people. In 514 Stuff and Wihtgár, their nephews, brought them a reinforcement of three ships; in 519, they again defeated the Britons, and established the kingdom of Wessex. In 527, a new victory is recorded; in 530, the Isle of Wight was subdued and given to Wihtgár; and in 534, Cerdic died, and was succeeded by Cyneríc, who reigned twenty-six years. In 544, Wihtgár died. A victory of Cyneríc, in 552 and 556, and Ceawlin's accession to the throne of Wessex are next recorded. Wars of the West-Saxon kings are noted in 568, 571, 577, 584. From 590 to 595, a king of that race, named Ceól, is mentioned: in 591, we learn the expulsion of Ceawlin from power; in 593, the deaths of Ceawlin, Cwichelm, and Crida are mentioned, and in 597, the year of Augustine's arrival, we learn that Ceólwulf ascended the throne of Wessex.

“Meagre as these details are, they far exceed what is related of Northumberland, Essex, or East-Anglia. In 547, we are told that Ida began to reign in the first of these kingdoms, and that he was succeeded in 560, by Ælli: that after a reign of *thirty* years, he died in 588, and was succeeded by Æpelric, who again in 593, was succeeded by Æpelfrip. This is all we learn of Northumbria; of Mercia, Essex, East-Anglia, and the innumerable kingdoms that must have been comprised under these general appellations, we hear not a single word.

“If this be all that we can now recover of events, a great number of which must have fallen within the lives of those to whom Augustine preached, what credit shall we give to the inconsistent accounts of earlier actions? How shall we supply the almost total want of information respecting the first settlements? What explanation have we to give of the alliance between Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, which preceded the invasions of England? What knowledge will these records supply of the real number and quality of the chieftains, the language and blood of the populations who gradually spread themselves from the Atlantic to the Frith of Forth; of the remains of Roman cultivation, or the amount of British power with which they had to contend? of the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune which visited the independent principalities before they were swallowed up in the kingdoms of the heptarchy, or the extent of the influence which they retained after the event! On all these several points we are left entirely in the dark; and yet these are facts which it most imports us to know, if we would comprehend the growth of a society which endured for at least 700 years in England, and formed the foundation of that in which we live.”—*The Saxons in England*. vol. i. pp. 28–32.

§ 21. The present writer believes that these objections are understated rather than over-stated; and hence the usual details have not been adopted by him—neither the date (A.D. 449); nor the triple division into Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. Still less have the districts of Germany, whence these three supposed populations respectively proceeded to Great Britain, been considered as finally determined. On the contrary, the

date of the migration has made one subject for criticism, whilst the locality whence it originated will make another. The chief authorities for the usual details respecting the earlier Anglo-Saxons are—

a. The Ecclesiastical History of Beda—the *Venerable Bede*, as he is generally called.

b. The so-called Saxon Chronicle.

Beda is the most important. His work is dedicated to Ceolwulf, king of Northumberland, who reigned from A.D. 729 to A.D. 737.

No previous history of the kind existed, so that it was by special applications to his contemporary ecclesiastics that Beda got his facts, each application being made for the history of some particular diocese or district. Thus—

For *Kent*, Albinus, abbot of Canterbury, was the chief authority. He forwarded to Beda, by a priest of the Church of London named Nothelm, such statements as “*vel monimentis literarum vel seniorum traditione cognoverat.*”

Nothelm, too, visited Rome, and brought thence those papal letters of Gregory and others, which have already been noticed.

Albinus, also, gave some notices of some of the districts around the kingdom of Kent—“*diligenter omnia quæ in ipsa Cantuariorum provincia vel etiam in contiguis eidem regionibus —cognoverat.*”

For the *West-Saxons* (*Wessex*), *Sussex*, *Isle of Wight*, Danihel, bishop of Wessex, alive when Beda wrote, “*nonnulla de historia ecclesiastica provinciæ ipsius simul et proximæ illi Australium Saxonum nec non et Vectæ Insulæ litteris mandata declaravit.*” To this we may add certain notices from the Abbot Albinus.

East Anglia—Norfolk and Suffolk—“*Porro in provincia Orientalium Anglorum quæ fuerint gesta ecclesiastica, partim ex scriptis vel traditione priorum, partim reverentissimi abbatis Esi relatione comperimus.*”

Notices also were supplied by the Abbot Albinus, the authority for Kent.

Mercia.—The details here were from the monks of Lesting-

ham: "Diligenter a fratribus monasterii quod ab ipsis conditum Læstingæu (*sic*) cognominatur agnovimus."

Some of these notices extended to the history of *Essex*.

"For the province of *Lincoln* the evidence was separate—"At vero in provincia Lindissi quæ sint gesta erga fidem Christi, quæve successio sacerdotalis extiterit, vel literis reverentissimi antistitis Cynibercti, vel aliorum fidelium vivorum viva voce didicimus."

Northumberland.—Beda himself worked at the history here:—"Quæ autem in Nordanhymbrorum provincia ex quo tempore fidem Christi perceperunt usque ad præsens per diversas regiones in ecclesia sint acta, non uno quolibet auctore, sed fidei innumerosum testium qui hæc scire vel meminisse poterant adsertione cognovi, exceptis his quæ per meipsum nosse poteram. Inter quæ notandum, quod ea quæ de sanctissimo patre et antistite Cudbercto vel in hoc volumine vel in libello gestorum ipsius conscripsi, partim ex eis quæ de illo prius a fratribus ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis scripta reperi, adsumpsi simpliciter fidem historiæ quam legebam accommodans, partim vero ea quæ certissima fidelium virorum adtestatione per me ipse cognoscere potui sollerter adjicere curavi. Lectoremque suppliciter obsecro, ut si qua in his quæ scripsimus aliter quam se veritas habet posita reperit, non hoc nobis imputet, qui, quod vera lex historiæ est, simpliciter ea quæ fama vulgante collegimus ad instructionem posteritatis literis mandare studuimus."

Add to these a life of St. Germanus, Gildas, and such of the later classical writers who (like Orosius) are as accessible to us as they were to Beda, and we have the authorities for the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Whatever may have been the learning of the author, and however much he may have been the luminary of his age, his materials are neither better nor worse than this. Indeed, it is only for Northumberland that Beda is, himself, answerable. The real evidence is that of Albinus, Daniel, the monks of Lestingham, &c.

§ 22. The so-called *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* has always commanded the attention of historians more than any other

similar work; and this on good grounds. For the later years of the Anglo-Saxon period, it is our only full and satisfactory document; so that its simple historical value is high. But, besides this, it is written in the Anglo-Saxon language—so that it has a philological value as well. Yet this Anglo-Saxon dress has a tendency to mislead. A chronicle in Latin passes for what it is, *viz.* for a composition of the monks; and compositions of the monks (as a general rule) are more under-valued than over-valued. But a work in the vernacular tongue has a simple unsophisticated appearance that takes the judgment at a disadvantage. It appears to represent a literature of home-growth; whilst literatures of home-growth suggest the idea of historical credibility.

What, however, if the work be (partially at least) a translation? This is highly probable.

§ 23. The importance of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has been overvalued, partly because it is in the native language of the island, partly for a reason suggested by the following extract:—"Notwithstanding the variations existing among the several manuscripts, their general resemblance, particularly a striking agreement in many chronological errors, both in the Anglo-Saxon and Latin texts, must appear very remarkable. In explanation of this, Gibson refers to an account, that in the monasteries of royal foundation in England, whatever worthy of remembrance occurred in the neighbourhood was committed to writing, that such records were, at the next synod, compared with each other, and that from them the Chronicles were composed."—*Lappenberg, Literary Introduction*, p. 44.

If we take this view of Gibson's, the Chronicle becomes a *Register*; a register of contemporary events entered as they happened, just as births, deaths, and marriages are entered throughout the parishes of England at the present time. A *Chronicle*, on the other hand, is the work of some historian subsequent to the events recorded; a work as different from a Register as a pedigree in the Herald's Office is from a Family Bible. Nevertheless, the two are often confounded. They have, more than once, been confounded in the case of the Saxon Chronicle.

But we *cannot* take Gibson's account. The practice is men-

tioned by a writer of the fifteenth century, and applies to the ecclesiastical entries of an ecclesiastical period. The times of Hengist and Horsa are Pagan times. For these, the notion of contemporary registered entries of facts as they occurred is out of the question, whatever may have been the case in the times nearer the Norman Conquest.

§ 24. Now, whatever may be the credibility of the Chronicle during the reigns of the later Anglo-Saxon Kings, its merits, in this respect, have no bearing upon the questions now under notice, viz. the details of the German invasion (or invasions) during the Pagan period, and anterior to the year 600 (597).

Neither is the work itself for this (and, it may be added, for a much later) period, stamped with any definite marks of accuracy or trust-worthiness. On the contrary, there are several very suspicious elements in it.

For the first of these the notice is due to Lappenberg, who remarks that, in the early history of the kingdom of Kent the chief events occur at a regular period either of 8 years or some multiple of 8. Thus:—

Hengist lands	A.D. 449.
The Battle of Creganford. . .	457.
„ Wippedsfleet . .	465.
The Third battle	473.

Just twenty-four years (8×3) after Hengist, dies Æsc, his son.

§ 25. The proper names are not less suspicious than the dates. The names of the Anglo-Saxons who appear subsequent to the introduction of Christianity, the names that are found in the Anglo-Saxon charters, the names on the Anglo-Saxon coins, the names of undoubtedly real individuals, living under the light of history, are eminently well-marked in character. They are chiefly compounds, and their elements (though not always capable of a satisfactory interpretation) are evidently referable to the Anglo-Saxon language. I open a volume of the Codex Diplomaticus, hap-hazard (vol. ii. p. 173), and find the following list, as an illustration:—Ælfwine, Eadulf, Cunan, Ælfheh, Sigelm, Cenwald, Beornstan, Oda, Wyncsige, Wulfhun,

Deoðerd, Cyneferð, Tidelm, Cynsige, Eadward, Æscberht, Wired, Ælfwald, Osferð, Aldred, Uhtred, Æscberht, Ælfstan, &c.

I find the same in the list of kings from Egberht downwards:—Ecberht, Æthelwulf, Æthelbald, Æthelbert, Æthelred, Ælfred, Eadwerd, Æthelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig, Eadgar, &c.

I will not say that *no* such names occur anterior to A.D. 600. A *few* such are to be found. But, as a general rule, the names that occur anterior to the introduction of Christianity are names which do not occur subsequently; and (*vice versâ*) the names which appear in the truly historical times are not found in the doubtful period.

But Christianity may have effected the change. This explanation would be valid if the later names were like John, James, &c.—scriptural designations. But they are not. More than this. Some of them, such as Edwin, Elfwine, are found amongst the allied German populations of the Continent and that during the Pagan period.

It must be remembered, then, that there are no Hengists, Horsas, Æscs, Cissas, Stufs, Ports, &c., when we come to the times of the Alfreds, and Edwards, and no Alfreds and Edwards when we are amongst the Ports and Stufs, &c.

§ 26. *The eponymic character of certain pre-historic names.*—It has been seen what certain names belonging to the Pagan portion of the so-called Anglo-Saxon history are *not*. They are not of the same character as those that belong to the historic era.

Let us now ask what they *are*.

They are, in some cases, what is called *eponymies* (ἐπωνυμιαί); or, if we prefer the adjective, we may say that they are *eponymic*, *i. e.* names never borne by individuals at all, but coined by certain speculators in history, archæology, or genealogy, under the hypothesis that the names of certain facts or places are accounted for by the supposition that certain individuals, identically or similarly named, originated them. In this way *Hellen* is the eponymus of the *Hellenes* (or Greeks); not that such a progenitor ever existed, but that some early speculator on the origin of the Greek nation con-

ceived that he did, and accounted for a name and nation (the nation being, in his eyes, but a large family) accordingly.

Our illustrations, however, may be taken from nearer home, from the facts of the question before us.

A locality, with certain traces of some action that took place in its neighbourhood, gives origin to a name—a name of an individual who may never have existed. A memorial of unknown import has to be accounted for, and a hero, accordingly, does or suffers something on the spot in question, and thereby gives his name to it. Thus, from the marks of a burial, and the name *Horsted*, we get the individual *Horsa*. The chronicler says, that the place was called from the man, the critic that the presence of the man was imagined to suit the place.

Beda's wording of Nothelm's or Albinus' report, is as follows:—"Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa; *e quibus Horsa postea occisus in bello a Brittonibus, hactenus in Orientalibus Cantiae partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne.* Erant autem filii Victgils, cujus pater Vitta, cujus pater Vecta, cujus pater Voden, de cujus stirpe multarum provinciarum regium genus originem duxit."—*Hist. Eccl.* i. 15.

The words beginning with *v* are put in italics for a reason which will soon appear.

§ 27. Horsa's name is less suspicious than another; that of *Port*, as it appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:—

A.D. 501.—Hér côm *Port* on Bretene, and his ii suna Bieda and Mægla mid ii scipum, on þære stowe þe is gecueden *Pórtesmuða* [and sona land namon] and [þær] ofslogon anne giongne Brettisc monnan, swiðe æðelne monnan.

A.D. 501.—This year *Port* and his two sons, Bieda and Mægla, came to Britain with two ships, at a place which is called Portsmouth, and they soon effected a landing, and they there slew a young British man of high nobility.

Now *Portus* must have been the name of *Portsmouth* long anterior to A.D. 501; inasmuch as it was a Latin, and not an Angle word.

But the landing of a man named *Port* at a place called

Portus is no impossibility. Granted. It is only highly improbable—the improbability being heightened by the strangeness of the name itself.

The improbability is also heightened by the following fact:—

Just as a man named *Port*, hits (out of all the landing-places in England) upon a spot with a name like his own, a man named *Wihtgar* does the same.

A.D. 530.—Her Cerdic and Cynric genamon *Wihte* Ealand, and ofslogon feala men on *Wiht-garasbyrg*.

A.D. 530.—This year Cerdic and Cynric conquered the island of *Wight*, and slew many men at *Wiht-garas-byrg*.

A.D. 534.—Her Cerdic [se forma West-Sexana cyng] forðferðe, and Cynric his sunu [feng to rice, and] ricsode forð xxvi wintra, and hie saldon hiera tuæm nefum Stufe and *Wiht-gare* [eall] *Wiht-Ealond*.

A.D. 534.—This year Cerdic, the first king of the West-Saxons, died, and Cynric, his son, succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned from that time twenty-six years; and they gave the whole island of *Wiht* to their two nephews, Stuf and *Wihtgar*.

A.D. 544.—Her *Wihtgar* forðferðe, and hiene mon bebyrgde on Wyht-gara-burg.

A.D. 544.—This year *Wihtgar* died, and they buried him in *Wiht-gara-byrg*.

Now *Wiht* is the Anglo-Saxon form of the name of *Vectis* = Isle of *Wight*, a name found in the Latin writers long anterior to A.D. 530.

And *gar* is a form of the word *wære*, (or *wæras*) = *inhabitants*.

Hence, just as *Kent* = the *County Kent*, and, *Cantware* = the inhabitants of that county (or *Canticolæ*) so does *Wiht* = *Vectis*, and *Wihtgare* = *Vecticolæ*.

Yet the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle makes it a man's name.

The names of *Port* and *Wihtgar* give us the strongest facts in favour of the suggested hypothesis, viz :—the *ex post facto* evolution of personal names out of local ones.

The following instances are less conclusive.

A.D. 477.—Her côm Ælla to Bretten-lond and his iiii suna, *Cymen*, and Wlencing, and *Cissa* mid iiii scipum, on þa stowe þe is nemned *Cymenesora*, and þær ofslogon monige Walas, and sume on fleame bedrifon on þone wudu þe is genemned Andrede-leage.

A.D. 495.—Hercuomontwegen aldormen on Bretene, *Cerdic* and *Cynric* his sunu mid v. scipum in þone stede þe is gecueden *Cerdices-ora*, and þy ilcan dæge gefuhtun wid Walum.

A.D. 477.—This year Ælla, and his three sons, *Cymen*, and Wlencing, and *Cissa*, came to the land of Britain with three ships, at a place which is named *Cymenes-ora*, and there slew many Welsh, and some they drove in flight into the wood that is named *Andreds-lea*.

A.D. 495.—This year two ealdormen came to Britain, *Cerdic*, and *Cynric* his son, with five ships, at a place which is called *Cerdics-ora*, and the same day they fought against the Welsh.

The names of two out of three of the sons of Ælla are the names of geographical localities. Thus, the sons are Wlencing, *Cymen*, and *Cissa*, and the names are *Cymenes-ora*, and *Cissan-ceaster*, the old forms of the present *Keynsor*, and *Chichester*. This is suspicious.

It becomes more so when we find that the second elements are Latin, *e. g.* *-ora* in *Cymenes-ora*, and *-ceaster* in *Cissan-ceaster*.

Again, some of them are British, rather than German: *Cerdic*, for instance, eminently historical as is the narrative concerning him, has a name which I believe to have been made out of the old British *Caratacus*, *Caratach*, *Cartac*, *Crad-dock*; the process by which an intrusive population of conquerors adopts the heroes of the country into which they intrude, being by no means an uncommon one.

Ceawlin, in the same way, I believe to be, word for word, *Cynobelin*, or *Cymbelin*, neither more nor less, though it must be admitted that his history takes a very definite and plausible shape.

§ 28. *The metrical character of the early pedigrees.*—In the extract about Horsa and his burial-place, the names of his ancestors all began with V—*Victgils*, *Vitta*, *Vecta*, &c.

How come the alliterations? Because the pedigrees are

pieces of poetry rather than history; it being the rule in Anglo-Saxon prosody that in every two lines, two words should begin with the same letter.

But Horsa's pedigree was no more alliterative than many others. *E. g.* :—

1.

Ida wæs *Eopping*,
Eoppa Esing,
Esa wæs Ingwing,
Ingwi Angenwitting,
Angenwit Alocing,
Aloc Benocing,
Benoc Branding,
Brand Bældæging,
Bældag Wodening,
Woden Freoðolafing,
Freoðolaf Freðowulfing,
Freoðowulf Finning,
Finn Godulfing,
Godulf Geating.

A. S. Chronicle, A.D. 547.

2.

Cerdic wæs Cynrices foder,
Cerdic Elesing,
Elesa Esling,
Esla Giwising,

Giwis Wiging,
Wig Freawining,
Freawine Freoðogaring,
Freoðogar Branding,
Brand Bældaging,
Bældag Wodening.

A. S. Chronicle, A.D. 552.

3.

Ælla wæs Yffing,
Yffe Uxfreaing,
Uxfrea Wilgilsing,
Wilgils Westerfalcning,
Westerfalcna Sæfugling,
Sæfulg Sæbalding,
Sæbald Sigegating,
Sigegat Swæbdæging,
Swæbdæg Sigegaring,
Sigegar Wægdæging,
Wægdag Wodening,
Woden Friðowulfing.

A. S. Chronicle, A.D. 560.

Ceolwulf's genealogy, to be found under A.D. 597, is equally alliterational; so is Penda's, A.D. 626; so are many others.

§ 29. There are two facts that, to a certain extent, impugn the previous line of criticism, one of which applies to the suggestion respecting the name *Wihtgar*, and the other to the alliterational genealogies. I will lay them both before the reader.

Wihtgar, which I believe to have been simply (Isle of) *Wight man*, or *Vecti-cola*, in both Beda and the Chronicle stands as the name of an individual. "So" (it can be said) "it may have been. Are there not several true and actual

personal names, notwithstanding the existence of geographical terms very like them? Instead of *Wihtgar*, let us say *Edgar*, and, instead of *Wihtware*, let us say *Edgware*—*Edgar* as the name of a person, *Edgware* as that of a place.

“Now if *Wihtgar* be denied to be a man, because there is a population called *Wihtware*, why may not King *Edgar* be proved to be non-existent also, on the strength of such places as *Edgware*, and the *Edgware Road*?”

Scribimus hæc ne iterum scribantur. As an objection to the criticism before us, the names, *Edgar* and *Edgware*, have a certain value; and, in simple uncomplicated cases, this value would be a high one. But the argument here, as is generally the case elsewhere in questions of ethnology, is cumulative, and the improbabilities against a given account are not to be valued by the unlikelihood of any single statement, so much as the sum of several single unlikely coincidences. Hence the likelihood of *Wihtgar* being in a different predicament from *Edgar*, is to be measured by the fact of its occurring in the same locality where *Portus* (the Latin for a *harbour*) is transformed into *Port*, the name of a Saxon hero.

The objection that lies against the genealogies, on the strength of the alliterational character of the names that they present, is much of the same kind as the one suggested by the names *Edgar* and *Edgware*. Genealogies, equally alliterational, occur within the historic period. Thus the descendants of *Ecbert* are:—

In the first generation, *Æthel-wulf*.

In the second, *Æthel-stan*, *Æthel-bald*, *Æthel-berht*, *Æthel-red*, *Æthel-swyth*, *Ælf-red*, sons of *Æthelwulf*.

In the third, *Æthel-on* and *Æthel-wold*, sons of *Æthel-red*, are along with—

Æthel-flæd, *Eadweard*, *Æthel-gifu*, *Ælf-thryth*, *Æthel-weard*, offspring of *Ælf-red* (*Alfred the Great*).

This list may be prolonged. In its present shape, however, it is sufficient to illustrate the objection suggested, *viz.* the fact of alliteration and history going together.

Valeat quantum. It should be remarked, however, that in the case of the words beginning with *Æthel-*, the phenomenon exhibited is not so much that of a series of family names

beginning with a similar letter, as of that of their being compounds with a similar initial element.

Anterior, however, to the reign of Ecbert, the genealogies are truly alliterational. They may be seen, in full, at the end of the first volume of Lappenberg. The following is a portion of one of them :—Cerdic, Cynric, Ceawlin, Cuthwine, Cutha, Ceolwald, Cenred, Ingild, Eoppa, Eafa, Ealhmund, Ecbert.

That there are objections to the criticism which impugns the early accounts of the Angle invasion has now been seen. It has also been seen that they may be met by counter-objections, and, such being the case, it is submitted that the original remarks upon the unsatisfactory character of the early history are sufficient for our present object. This is limited. It is not a history of Great Britain that I am writing, but one of the English language. Hence the *whole* question as to the literary and historical value of the early writers is too wide. The extent to which they are sufficient or insufficient to prove certain specific facts is all that need be investigated ; and the character of such facts is the measure of the amount of criticism necessary to invalidate their authority. One of these facts (real or supposed) is the date of A. D. 449, for the *first* landing of the first ancestors of the present English. It is only in appearance that this is a simple one. That certain Germans landed on a certain part of the coast of Kent is the simple straightforward part of it. That they were the *first* who did so is quite a different matter, involving the fact that no one else had ever done so before, and also involving the notoriously difficult proof of a *negative*.

a. Now it is submitted that the current accounts are not sufficiently early for the proofs of a *negative* assertion.

b. It is also submitted that they are not sufficient for the proof of an improbability.

c. It is also submitted that they are not valid when opposed by any conflicting fact. Still less—

d. Are they valid against any combination of the previous elements of doubt—*e. g.* the proof of a negative, with evidence on the other side.

The special application of these doctrines, as far as it has hitherto gone, is to ignore the date, A. D. 449, for that of

the landing of the *first* invaders from Germany. More than this is unnecessary; and the arguments which have gone further in the invalidation of our early accounts are arguments *ex abundanti*. Of these early accounts I think meanly, but the present chapter impugns them only to the extent indicated.

CHAPTER V.

GERMAN ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—THE PARTS OF GERMANY FROM WHICH IT WAS INTRODUCED.—EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.—THE CARLOVINGIAN ANNALISTS.—THE SLAVES.—THE DANES.—THE FRISIANS.—THE SAXONS.

§ 30. THERE is no such thing as a definite and undeniable chronology for the details of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain; *i. e.* there is no account so authentic as to preclude criticism.

Neither is there such a thing as an ethnological map of Germany for that period; nor yet is there any accurate geographical description.

A sketch of the evidence of this has just been given; and, if the writer have made out his case, the whole early history of the English Language—and we may add of the English People—has to be got at by circuitous and indirect methods, by criticism, by inference.

Our evidence is of two sorts:—

The testimony of writers, and the comparison of language, manners, customs, laws, &c. In other words there is *external* evidence and *internal* evidence.

I begin with the former.

On the subject of *date* we have had two extreme points—the earliest probable time, and the latest. From which shall we reckon? From both.

If we lay out of consideration a few isolated notices, we shall find that the external testimony to the history, geography, and topography of Germany for the nearest times *subsequent* to the Angle occupation of England, begins with the beginning of the Carlovingian dynasty, and lies in the writings of those authors who have been most employed on the acts of Charle-

magne. A note in Sir Francis Palgrave's *Normandy* gives us a rough view of these *data*. They consist, for the most part, in chronicles, under the titles of *Annales Laurissenses*, *Annales Einhardi*, *Annales Mettenses*, *Annales Fuldenses*, *Chronicon Moissiacense*, *Annales Petaviani*, *Alamannici*, *Guelfyrbytani*, *Nazarii*, copying more or less from either each other or from some common source, and consequently relating nearly the same events. I do not say that these give no good light. I only say that it is the best we can get. They are to be found in Pertz's *Monumenta Historica Germanica*. They all (or nearly all) emanate from Frank writers—from Christian Franks.

The latter half of the seventh century is the time, and Northern Germany the place, under consideration. Christianity, and the influence of Roman civilisation, have extended no further in the direction of the Elbe than the northern boundary of the empire of the Franks; and this is why our information comes through Frank sources. This, too, is why our nomenclature is Frank—an important point to bear in mind. There is Paganism which has few or no records on one side, and there is a Christian empire with a nascent literature on the other. The notices of the former come through the latter. We must look, then, on ancient Northern Germany—the part which contains the Angles—as the Franks looked at it.

Those parts of modern Germany which lay to the north of their own frontier, parts which the Franks eventually succeeded in reducing, but which at first they only knew as the country of enemies and Pagans, were four: 1. The country of the Slavi. 2. Dania. 3. Frisia. 4. Saxonia.

§ 31. *The country of the Slavi*.—Roughly speaking, this extended as far westward as the Lower Elbe and Saale; a fact that should always be before the eyes of the German archæologist and ethnologist.

§ 32. *Dania*.—This, in the ninth century, was the Kingdom of Godofrid, bounded on the side of Germany by the Eyder (there or thereabouts). Hence, its most southern part was the present Duchy of Sleswick. Saxony began in Holstein, but Holstein was Saxon only in its western half. The eastern was Slavonic.

“Godofridus vero, priusquam reverteretur, destructo emporio, quod in oceani litore constitutum, *lingua Danorum* Reric dicebatur, et magnam regno illius commoditatem vectigalium persolutione præstabat, translatisque inde negotiatoribus, soluta classe ad portum *qui Sliesthorp* dicitur cum universo exercitu venit. Ibi per aliquot dies moratus, *limitem regni sui qui Saxoniam respicit*, vallo munire constituit, eo modo, ut ab orientali maris sinu, quem illi Ostarsalt dicunt, usque ad occidentalem oceanum totam *Ægidoræ fluminis* aquilonalem ripam munimentum valli prætexeret, una tantum porta dimissa, per quam carra et equites emitti et recipi potuissent. Diviso itaque opere inter duces copiarum, domum reversus est.”

A.D. 804. “Eodem tempore Godofridus, rex Danorum, venit cum classe sua necnon et omni equitatu regni sui ad locum qui dicitur Sliesthorp in confinio regni sui et Saxoniae.”—*Einhardi Annales*.

At present, the northern limits of Dania are of no importance. The southern boundary, as we have already seen, was the River Eyder—there or thereabouts.

§ 33. *Frisia*.—Roughly speaking, the present districts of Dutch Friesland, Groningen, and East Friesland with part of Oldenburg, give us the Frisia of the Carlovingian writers. Meppen on the Ems, when it first gets mentioned, is in *Saxony*:—“Oppidum est in Saxonia notum quam plurimis, *Meppen* nominatum, in cujus vicinia dum antistes sanctus Frisiam pergens, devenerat,” &c.—*Vitâ Sancti Ludgeri*, Pertz, vol. ii. p. 419.

§ 34. *Saxonia*.—Saxonia fell into four parts; or, if we prefer a different classification, into two *main*, and seven *subdivisions*. There was the Saxony *beyond the Elbe*, and there was the Saxony *on this side of the Elbe*. The former will be noticed first.

The Nordalbingians.—This is a compound of the word *Nord* (= *North*), and *Albis* (= *Elbe*), and the termination *ing* is a gentile form. It means the certain populations *north of the Elbe*. This we get from the elements of the word itself; but it does not mean all the tribes beyond that river; on the contrary, it is restricted to those between the Elbe and the Eyder,—those north of the former and south of the latter. Again, it means

those between the *Lower* Elbe and the *Lower* Eyder; in other words, the occupants of the *western* side of the present Duchy of Holstein.

I think that this gives us the *Germans* of Western, as opposed to the Slavonians of Eastern Holstein, and as opposed to the Scandinavians (Danes or Jutes) of Sleswick.

An unknown poet of the ninth (tenth?) century, who is on good reasons considered to have been a Saxon, and who is quoted as *Poeta Saxa*, writes,—

Saxonum (*sic*) populus quidam, quos claudit ab Austro
Albis sejunctim positos Aquilonis ad axem:
Hos *Nordalbingos* patrio sermone vocamus.

The Nordalbingians fell into three divisions:

1. The *Thiedmarsî Thiatmarsgi*, or *Ditmarshers*, whose capital was Meldorp—" *primi ad Oceanum Thiatmarsgi, et eorum ecclesia Mildindorp.*"

2. The *Holsati, Holtzati*, or *Holtsætân*, from whom the present Duchy of Holstein takes its name "*dicti a sylvis quas incolunt.*" The river Sturia separated the Holsatians from—

3. The *Stormarii*, or people of *Stormar*; of whom Hamburg was the capital—*Adam Bremens., Hist. Eccles. c. 61.*

Another name for these Nord-albingian Saxons is, *Trans-albingian* = *Saxons beyond the Elbe.*

The author just quoted, Adam of Bremen, is somewhat later than the times under notice; nevertheless, his text may serve as a commentary upon the lines of the *Poeta Saxa*.

§ 35. *The Saxons on this side of the Elbe.*—These are the Saxons between the Elbe, the Frisian frontier, and the Frank frontier. Concerning them the *Poeta Saxa* writes—

"Generalis habet populos divisio ternos;
Insignita quibus Saxonia floruit olim;
Nomina nunc remanent virtus antiqua recessit.
Denique *Westfalos* vocitant in parte manentes
Occidua; quorum non longe terminus amne
A Rheno distat? regionem solis ad ortum
Inhabitant *Osterleudi*, quos nomine quidam
Ostvalos alii vocitant, confinia quorum
Infestant conjuncta suis gens perfida Sclavi.

Inter predictos media regione morantur
Angarii, populus Saxonum tertius; horum
 Patria Francorum terris sociatur ab Austro,
 Oceanoque eadem conjungitur ex Aquilone."

Hence, the Cis-albian Saxony of the ninth century falls into three divisions, two of which are denoted by geographical or political designations, and one by the name of a native population.

The present district of *West-phalia* was Saxon; its occupants being called *West-falahi*, *West-falai*, *West-fali*. Contrasted with these, the *East-phalians* (*Ost-falai*, *Ost-falahi*, *Ost-fali*, *Oster-leudi*, *Austre-leudi*, *Aust-rasii*), stretched towards the Elbe.

Between the two, descendants of the *Angri-varii* of Tacitus and ancestors of the present Germans of the parts about *Engern*, lay the *Ang-arii*, or *Angr-arii*.

The notices of this Cis-albingian Saxony are numerous, but uniform. They generally tell us of a warlike visitation on the part of Charlemagne, Padersborn being an important locality.

"In hoc anno domnus (*sic*) rex Karolus collecto exercitu venit in Saxoniam in loco qui dicitur *Patresbrunnas*, ibi castrametatus; inde etiam mittens Karolum filium suum trans fluvium Wiseram, ut quotquot isdem partibus de infidelibus suis invenissent, suæ servituti subjugaret; quod et idem gloriosus, subjugatis his omnibus, cum triumpho rediens perpetravit."

More important is the following, since it gives us the river Ysel (probably the river of the *Sal-ian* Franks) as the boundary of Saxony on the south-west:—

"Dum talia gerebantur, venit quidam presbiter (*sic*) sanctus et doctus de genere Anglorum nomine Liafwinus ad abbatem Gregorium, dicens sibi a Domino terribiliter trina admonitione fuisse præceptum, *ut in confinio Francorum atque Saxonum secus fluvium Isla*, plebi in doctrina prodesse deberet, rogavitque ut ad locum illum se perduci juberet, et ad fluvium sibi a Domino prænominatum. Tunc Gregorius, eo quod locus idem ad parrochiam (*sic*) suam pertineret, benigne eum illic dirigere studuit, agens gratias pastori summo, eo quod visitaret plebem suam. Misit etiam cum eo et Marchelmum servum Dei, de genere Anglorum, et a sancto Willibrordo episcopo a

pueritia sanctis instructum moribus, ut eum præponeret populo. Susceptus ergo presbiter Liafwinus a matrona quadam nomine Averhilda ceterisque fidelibus, seminabat documenta salutis, et rigabat prata mentium. Fecerunt autem ei oratorium in occidentali *parte præfati fluminis, in loco qui Huilpa vocatur*. Posthæc etiam ædificaverunt ei ecclesiam in littore orientali ejusdem fluminis, in loco cujus vocabulum est *Daventre*. Cumque ad eam populus ob viri sancti doctrinam conflueret, *Saxones* qui eo tempore paganis fuscabantur ritibus, in furorem conversi, collecto exercitu effugaverunt Christianos ab illis locis, et ecclesiam combusserunt igni. Tunc vir Dei Liafwinus reversus ad abbatem Gregorium, præstolabatur consolationem a Domino. Sedato igitur tumultu reversisque prædonibus in sua, vir Dei reædificavit ecclesiam quæ fuerat combusta; et more solito non cessabat documenta salutis impendere gregi, quo ad usque pastori summo dilectam redderet animam, et defunctus, in eadem ecclesia est sepultus."

Important also are the following passages; since they help us to the Franco-Saxon frontier on the *east*:—"Iterum domnus rex Karolus venit in Saxoniam, et Franci terram illam vastantes et destruentes omnia. Et eodem anno inverni temporis sedit domnus rex Karolus *Herisburgo, et Franci sederunt in gyrum per borderes*."

Again:—"Tunc pius atque præclarus domnus Carolus rex habuit sinodum in villa quæ dicitur *Duria*, et inde iter paragens partibus Saxoniae, *Sigiburgum* castrum cepit, *Æresburgum* reædificavit, super Wisoram fluvium venit in loco qui dicitur *Brunisberg* et ibi præparabant bellum, volentes ripam supradicti fluminis defendere; auxiliante Domino et Francis decertantibus, fugati Saxones. Franci ambas ripas obtinuerunt, et multi Saxones ibi occisi sunt. Tunc domnus Carolus rex dividens exercitum suum, sumpsit secum quos voluit, perrexit usque *Obaccrum fluvium*, ibi omnes *Austreleudi Saxones* venientes cum Hassione, et dederunt obsides juxta quod placuit, et juraverunt sacramenta, se fideles esse partibus supradicti domni Caroli regis. Similiter inde revertente jam dicto mitissimo rege venerunt *Angrarii in pago qui dicitur Bucki* una cum Brunone et reliquis optimatibus eorum, et dederunt ibi obsides sicut Austrasii. Et inde revertente

præfato rege, invenit aliam partem de suo exercitu super fluvium Wisora, continentes ripam quam jussi fuerant Saxones cum ipsis pugnam fecerunt in loco, qui dicitur *Lidbach*, et Franci Deo volente victoriam habuerunt, et plures ex ipsis Saxones occiderunt. Hoc audiente domno Carolo rege, iterum super Saxones cum exercitu irruens, et non minorem stragem ex eis fecit, et prædam multam conquisivit super Westfalaos, et obsides dederunt, sicut et alii Saxones; et tunc obsidibus receptis, et præda multa adsumpta, et præter ter stragem Saxonum factam, supradictus domnus Carolus rex ad propria reversus est, auxiliante Domino, in Franciam."

§ 36. *The Hessian Frontier*.—Paderborn has been seen to be a frontier town. This gives us one approximation to the Franco-Saxon frontier. The valley of the Diemel supplies another. Hesse, although other than Frank in respect to its dialects, was Frank in its political relations; but not wholly. The valley of the Diemel was half Saxon.

In the language of the times, there were two *pagi*; one on the Upper Diemel, which was Frank, and the other on the Lower Diemel, which was Saxon.

The former was—

"——— Francorum pagus qui dicitur Hassi."—*Poeta Saxo*.

It was also pagus Hessi *Franconicus*. The latter was pagus Hessi *Saxonicus*.

The town of Wolfsanger was both Frank and Saxon:—"ad villam cujus est vocabulum Vulvisangar quam tunc temporis *Franci et Saxones pariter habitare* videbantur."—*Dipl. Carol. Magn. apud Falke*, p. 377. See Zeuss in voce *Hessi*.

Without, at present, going further into the attempt to ascertain the exact boundaries of the *Saxonia* of the ninth century, we may say that Hanover, Westphalia, and Holstein were the chief districts which it comprised—Hanover, Westphalia, and Holstein, as opposed to Friesland, Sleswick, and the Lower Rhine, these being Frisian, Danish, and Frank, respectively.

§ 37. This gives us an approximation to a boundary; but it does not determine the import of the word Saxon.

It was a *political*, rather than an ethnological term; Nord-

albingian being *geographical* rather than either political or ethnological.

It comprised the country of the Angles; yet (a point to be remembered) the name Angle occurs rarely (very rarely) in the Carolingian literature. The following is, perhaps, the most important extract that contains it:—"A.D. 786. Cum et hiemis tempus expletum, et sanctum pascha in Astiniaco villa fuisset a rege celebratum, exercitum in *Britanniam cis-marinam* mittere constituit. Nam cum ab *Anglis* et Saxonibus Britannia insula fuisset invasa, magna pars incolarum ejus mare trajiciens, in ultimis Galliæ finibus Venetorum et Coriosolitarum regiones occupavit."—*Einhard, Annales*.

§ 38. As to the subordinate divisions, the boundaries between the Westphalians, Angrarii, and Eastphalians, they are uncertain. Probably the lines of frontier were the *natural* ones formed by the two portions of the Teutobergerwald which contain the head-waters of the Lippe.

Neither is the frontier between Eastphalia and the Slavonians certain. It is generally considered to have been the Elbe. It is certain, however, that at one time there were Slavonians to the *west*, and that at another there were Germans *east* of that river. The details are not very important, and will be reverted to hereafter.

More important is the determination of the Franco-Saxon boundary. On the west was the River Ysel, and the parts about Deventer; Guelderland being Frank, and Overysse, probably, a Debateable Land between the Franks, Saxons, and Frisians. At any rate the line of demarcation lay here, or hereabouts.

Further to the east lay Herisburg (Eresburg), a frontier town, or, at least, a town not far from the frontier, and (more famous than Eresberg) Paderborn. The valley of the Diemel was divided between the Saxons and Hessians.

I repeat, that the divisions now under notice are political rather than ethnological.

CHAPTER VI.

GERMAN ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—PARTS OF GERMANY FROM WHICH IT WAS INTRODUCED.—EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.—CLASSICAL AUTHORS—TACITUS—FRISII, ETC.—THE ANGRIVARII.—THE CHERUSCI.—THE ANGLI.

§ 39. FOR the greater part of the external evidence to the history, geography, and topography of Germany, for the nearest times *anterior* to the Angle occupation of England, we begin with Ptolemy, and end with Strabo, going backwards.

The later and earlier writers are of minor importance. They will be noticed as occasion requires; but the real lights come from the works belonging to the period just indicated. Hence, the texts for present consideration are almost exclusively those of Strabo, Velleius, Paterculus, Tacitus, and Ptolemy. From Cæsar, as an earlier writer, and from Ammianus Marcellinus, as a later one (as well as from some others) we get occasional notices; notices sometimes of great value. The main texts, however, are those of the writers just named; and of these Tacitus and Ptolemy most especially.

What was that part of Germany, in the time of Strabo, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, which, in the Carlovingian period, was named, by the Franks, Saxonia, or rather *Saxonia + Frisia*—the land of the Saxons and the Frisians—the land of the blood and language nearest to that of the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain?

In this question one fact must stand prominent and transparently clear;—*viz.* that in the eyes of Tacitus, Strabo, and all the writers anterior to Ptolemy, *no part of it was what the whole was afterwards, i. e. no part was Saxon—so called.*

Ptolemy is the first author who gives us that name, and he gives it only a partial—very partial—application.

§ 40. With this preliminary we may take the Frank or Carolingian divisions in detail, and ask how they were occupied in the first and second centuries. Doing this, it is convenient to begin with that tract of land and that population which has retained its name in the most permanent and unaltered form. This gives us—

The *Frisii* of Tacitus who lay in front of the Angrivarii and Chamavi:—"Angrivarios et Chamavos à tergo Dulgibini et Chasuari cludunt, aliæque gentes haud perinde memoratæ. A fronte Frisii excipiunt. 'Majoribus minoribusque Frisiis' vocabulum est, ex modo virium: utræque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno prætexuntur, ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus, et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quinetiam Oceanum illà tentavimus: et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit: sive adiit Hercules, seu quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem ejus referre consensimus.. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico: sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit: sanctiusque ac reverentius visum, de actis deorum credere, quàm scire."

The Chauci.—Contiguous to the Frisians, and (like the Frisians) extended along the coast, though dipping further inland, came the *Chauci*:—"Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis, ac partem litoris occupet, omnium, quas exposui, gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur. Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantùm Chauci, sed et implent: populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitiâ tueri: sine cupiditate, sine impotentiâ, quieti secretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. Idque præcipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quòd, ut superiores agant, non per injurias adsequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac, si res poscat, exercitus: plurimum virorum equorumque: et quiescentibus eadem fama."

Pliny writes:—"Sunt in septemtrione visæ nobis Chaucorum (gentes) Vasto ibi meatu, bis dierum noctiumque singularum intervallis, effusus in immensum agitur

Oceanus, æternam operiens rerum naturæ controversiam; dubiumque terræ sit, an parte in maris. Illic misera gens tumulos obtinet altos aut tribunalia structa manibus ad experimenta altissimi æstus, casis ita impositis, navigantibus similes, cum integant aquæ circumdata, naufragis vero, cum recesserint: fugientesque cum mari pisces circa tuguria venantur. Non pecudem his habere, non lacte ali, ut finitimis, ne cum feris quidem dimicare contingit, omni procul abacto frutice. Ulva et palustri junco funes nectunt ad prætexenda piscibus retia: captumque manibus lutum ventis magis quam sole siccantes, terra cibos et rigentia septemtrione viscera sua urunt. Potus nonnisi ex imbre servato scrobibus in vestibulo domus. Et hæ gentes, si vincantur hodie a populo Romano, servire se dicunt. Ita est profecto: multis fortuna parcit in pœnam."

The Frisians reached to the Ems, the Chauci to the Elbe.—*Ptolemy*, ii. 11.

§ 41. The two divisions, which the Carlovingian Franks called Westphalia and Eastphalia, were divided by the country of the Angarii. This in Tacitus is found in the fuller form—*Angriarii*.

Name for name, they are the Germans of the parts about Engern: the Angarii of the "mid-region."

"Inter prædictos media regione morantur
Angarii, populus Saxonum (sic) tertius."

West of this "mid-region" lay—

The *Chamavi*, *Dulgubini*, *Chasuarii*.—These were, in the time of Tacitus, the occupants of what was, in the time of the Carlovingians, *West-phalia*; but, as it is *not* the Westphalian part of the *Saxonia* of the Franks which has the best claim to be considered the mother country of the Anglo-Saxons, the Chamavi, Dulgubini, and Chasuarii are merely mentioned by name. As *Old-Saxons* they are of interest, but not as *Anglo-Saxons*.

§ 42. The Eastphalian and Nordalbingian areas of the Carlovingians most interest the Englishman, and it is to the question as to what these were in the time of the classical writers that he more especially wants his answer. But to this there is a preliminary consideration, viz. the extent to which the terms

Eastphalia, Westphalia, Angraria, and Nordalbingia are exhaustive. Did they include everything that was Saxon or included within the limits of the Carolingian *Saxonia*?

It is undoubtedly true that the Frank writers recognise only three divisions of *Cis-albian* Saxony; and it is equally certain that the name *Trans-albian* as applied to the populations of Holstein, forbids us to seek for any portion of the district to which it applied on the *south* side of the Elbe. It was a geographical term; and, as such, means the parts *north* of the Elbe, and not the parts *south* of the Elbe. It is a geographical term of a precise and definite import; and we cannot tamper with it. At the same time, I doubt very much whether either the term Eastphalia or the term Westphalia applied to (let us say) the parts due south of Nordalbingia, *i. e.* to the left bank of the Elbe, between Hamburg and Stade. Angaria certainly did not do so.

Some part of this district was Frisian; but not all. At the same time, I doubt whether, in accurate language, the Frisian and Eastphalian frontiers met. Hence, I doubt whether the four names, Frisia, Angaria, Ostphalia, and Westphalia did really exhaust the whole area between the Elbe, the Sea, the Franks, and the Slaves. Ostphalia, certainly, meant the parts due east of Engern, such as Hildesheim and a part of the Hartz; but it is not so clear that either it or Westphalia meant the parts due east of Oldenburg, and I doubt whether a line drawn from Verden to Hamburg could be said to pass through Eastphalia. The line that would really do so would be one from Minden to Brunswick. If this doubt be well founded, how can it be explained? Were the northern parts imperfectly reduced? were they imperfectly known? Did the Frisian and Slavonic areas meet? If so the Nordalbingians (supposing them to have Saxons and opposed to Frisians) must have been separated from the Eastphalians.

§ 43. To return, however, to the texts of our classical authorities, and to ask what names are found in that part of Germany which the Carolinian Franks called Eastphalia, we may say that for the parts that lay on each side of a line drawn from Minden to Brunswick, the parts truly and duly east of the Angrarii—for the parts which were undoubtedly called the lands of the

Ostphali—the occupancy in the time of Tacitus was in the hands of the—

a. Fosi, and the—

b. Cherusci.—Respecting these, Tacitus writes:—“In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque, Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutrierunt: idque jucundius, quàm tutius fuit; quia inter impotentes et validos falsò quiescas: ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui olim ‘boni æquique Cherusci,’ nunc ‘Inertes ac stulti’ vocantur: Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. Tracti ruinâ Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex æquo socii, cùm in secundus minores fuissent.”

This is from the *Germania*. It is not necessary to enlarge on the Fosi.

For so important a population as the Cherusci, the notice is not very definite. Two preliminary remarks are necessary, if we wish to go further in their ethnology and geography.

a. I believe the words *Harudes* and *Cherusci* to be essentially one and the same.

If so, *Cher-usci* is an adjective, and the *-sc-* is the *-sc* in *Brittisc*, the *-sk-* in *Dan-ske*, and the *-ish* in *self-ish*.

If so, the population to whom it applied, must have called themselves by an *adjectival* appellation. Now this is no more than the present Danes and *Swedes* do,—*Dan-ske*, *Sven-ske*.

If so, the *-d-* is omitted. Now this is no more than what occurs in the form *Nor-ske*, from *Nor-d-ske*,—the fuller form being *Harudske*, or *Cherudske*.

If so, there is a change from *Ch-* to *H-* (or *vice versâ*). Now this is no more than what occurs in the words *Chatti* = *Hesse*, *Chattuarii* = *Hazzoarii*.

b. *Harudes* is the same word as *Hartz*, of which *Charudes* is only another form; the form which in the Marmor Ancyranum actually occurs.

In the *Annales Fuldenses*, ad ann. 852, King Hludowic passing “per Angros, *Harudos*, Suabos, et Hohsingos—Thuringiam ingreditum.” The notes of Pertz (vol. i. p. 368) gives us the name *Hartego* (*Pagus Harudum* or *Harudorum*), of which Halberstad was the capital.

But this is not all. The words *Charud*, *Harud*, *Hard*,

and *Hart* = *lucus, sylva*. Graf (iv. 1026) supplies the following compounds as local names. *Lusc(h)-hart*, *Otmare-hart*, *Mawin-hard*, *Gisin-hard*, *Riskin-hart*, *Hun-hart*, *Lind-hart*, *Murra-hart*, *Balden-s-hart*, *Spehtes-hart* (Spessart), *Hartegowe*.

Now if *Harud-* (= *forest*), mean also a *people*, as it seems to do here, it must do so in an unusual, but not unprecedented, manner. The converse process is the commoner — *i. e.* the name of a population serves to denote the country. Here the geographical name becomes Gentile.

Graf only *suggests* that the name of the Hartz mountains may be the same word as *Hart* = *wood*, or forest. It is difficult, however, to doubt it. Place and name agree.

Now if *Harud-* or *Charud-* = *forest*, or woody district, and if the name of the district be also the name of its occupants, and if *Cherusci* be an adjectival form of the same word, we may have any amount of *Harudes*, *Charudes*, or *Cheru-sci* (*Cheru-d-ske*). We may have these also at any distance from each other, and in any degree of relationship. We may have them wherever there is a *forest-range* (a *Harud*, *Charud* or *Heorot*).

This multiplicity of *Charudes* is no hypothesis, but a real fact. We have no less than four of them, and with each of them it is an open question whether it be the same as any or all of the other four. There are—

1. The *Harudes* of Cæsar. These formed part of the army of Ariovistus. (B. G. I. 31. 37. 51.)

2. The *Charudes* of the Monumentum Ancyranum:—"Cimbrique et *Charudes* et Semnones et ejusdem tractus alii Germanorum populi per legatos amicitiam meam et populi Romani petierunt."—Neither these, nor those of Cæsar, are of the same importance with—

3. The *Charudes* of Ptolemy, and—

4. The *Cherusci* of Velleius Paterculus and Tacitus.

Ptolemy's *Charudes* are placed in the Carlovingian district of the Trans-albani; those of Tacitus and Paterculus in Eastphalia.

Ptolemy's *Harudes* lie to the north of the Chali, and to the east of the Phundusii. They may, indeed, have lain in Sleswick,

and have been Danes rather than Germans. They may have also been the *Hott-sæti* under another name; since *Holt* = *wood*, or *forest*, even as *Harut* does.

The Cherusci of Paterculus and Tacitus, whencesoever they came, fought on a spot either east of the country of Angrivarii, or near its eastern frontier. They fought, too, on the Lippe or the Weser. But did they fight on their own soil? If they did, we must choose between two alternatives; we must either give them the whole tract from Minden to Halberstad, or suppose that the Cherusci of the battles on the Weser were one population, and the Cherusci of the Hartego (or the Hartz) another. The Hartz is a forest-range, so was the Saltus Teutobergensis. So is much of the country between the two. Either extreme would supply Cherusicans, or men of the forest-range. Many intervening localities would do the same.

Without going into further speculation it is safe to say that, in the time of Tacitus, the southern frontier of what was afterwards the Eastphalia of the Carlovingians and Franks was Cheruscan, whilst (*assuming ordinary accuracy on the part of Ptolemy*) the northern part of what was afterwards Nordalbingia was the occupancy of the *Harudes*.

But is this accuracy on the part of Ptolemy a safe assumption? This is uncertain. Probably he knew of the statement of the Marmor Ancyranum; but, being unable to divest himself of the ideas of a northern locality for the Cimbri, placed them (the Cimbri) in the Chersonese, and the Charudes as near them as he could.

There are other complications attending the name. In Beowulf, and elsewhere, the dissyllabic form *Heorot*, as opposed to the High German *Hartz*, the Latin *Harudes*, and the monosyllabic Low German *Hart-ego*, occurs—the locality being unfixed.

However, if the doctrine as to the identity of all the forms under notice, along with that of the *Common*, rather *Proper* power of the root *H-r-t* as a name, be admitted, the details of the name lose much of their importance. *Some* of the Cherusicans of Tacitus and Paterculus were Eastphalian, and *some* of the Harudes of Ptolemy were Nordalbingian.

We pass now to the parts lying on each side of a line drawn from Verden to Luneberg, of which the occupancy, in the time of Tacitus, is a matter of comparative certainty for one population only; but that is an all-important one—the Angli.

§ 44. The Angli are not mentioned alone in Tacitus, whose list runs thus,—Angli, Varini Reudigni, Aviones, Eudoses, Suardones, Nuithones.

Just so will the Saxons appear in Ptolemy, *i. e.* with a crowd of uncertain populations by their side. What does the most learned ethnologist know of a people called the *Eudoses*? Nothing. He speculates, perhaps, on a letter-change, and fancies that by prefixing a *Ph*, and inserting an *n* he can convert the name into *Phundusii*. But what does he know of the *Phundusii*? Nothing; except that by ejecting the *ph* and omitting the *n* he can reduce them to *Eudoses*. Then come the *Aviones*, of whom we know little, whom, by omission and rejection, we can identify with the *Cobandi*, of whom we know less. What light comes from the *Nuithones*? What from the *Suardones*? It is not going too far if we say that, were it not for the conquest of England, the Angles of Germany would have been known to the ethnologist just as the *Aviones* are, *i. e.* very little; that, like the *Eudoses*, they might have had their name tampered with; and that, like the *Suardones* and *Nuithones*, they might have been anything or nothing in the way of ethnological affinity, historical development, and geographical locality.

In the way of external testimony, nine-tenths of what is known of the Angli of Germany is known from a single passage, and every word in that single passage which applies to Angli applies to the *Eudoses*, *Aviones*, *Reudigni*, *Suardones*, and *Nuithones* as well:—"Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium sed præliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni, deinde, et Aviones, et Angli, et Varini, et Suardones, et Nuithones fluminibus aut sylvis muniuntur; neque quidquam notabile in singulis nisi quod in commune Hertham, id est, Terram Matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur. Est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatum in eo vehiculum, veste contectum, attingere uni sacer-

doti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intelligit, vectamque bobus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Læti tunc dies, festa loca, quæcunque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt, clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat: mox vehiculum et vestes, et si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror, sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit id, quod perituri tantum vident."

That the Nuithones, Suardones, Eudoses, and Aviones lay beyond the Elbe, and to the *east* of it, and that they were Slavonic, is probable.

The obscurity of the Nuithones, &c., is not the only difficulty in the passage just given. A little light is thrown over it by the *Reudigni* and *Varini*; but of these two populations the latter, at least, introduces new elements of uncertainty.

§ 45. *Reudigni*.—The last two syllables are inflectional; the root being *R-d*. This occurs as the element of a compound in more Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon passages than one. Whoever the Goths of Scandinavia may have been, they fell into more than one class. There were, for instance, the simple *Goths* of *Goth-land*, the *island* Goths of *Ey-gota-land*, and, thirdly, the Goths of *Reidh-gota-land*. Reidhgotaland was an old name of *Jutland*. Reidhgotaland was also the name of a country *east of Poland*. Zeuss* well suggests that these conflicting facts may be reconciled by considering the prefix *Reidh*, to denote the Goths of the *Continent* in opposition to the word *Ey*, denoting the Goths of the *Islands*; both being formidable and important nations, both being in political and military relations to the Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, and both being other than Germanic.

In the Traveller's Song we find a *Hreth-king*—

" He with Ealhild,
Faithful peace-weaver,
For the first time,
Of the *Hreth-king*

* In v. *Jutæ*.

Sought the home,
East of Ongle,
 Of Eormenric,
 The fierce faith-breaker."

The relation between the *Hreths* and *Ongle* is that between the *Reudigni* and *Angli*.

But in the same poem we meet with the name in the simple form *Hræd*:—

"Eadwine I sought and Elsa,
 Ægelmund and Hungar,
 And the proud host
 Of the With-Myrgings;
 Wulfhere I sought and Wyrnhere;
 Full oft war ceas'd not there,
 When the *Hræds'* army,
 With hard swords,
 About *Vistula's* wood
 Had to defend
 Their ancient native seat
 Against the folk of Ætla."

Such light as we get from these passages induces us to place the *Reudigni* on the eastern side of the Elbe. If so, they lay beyond the limits of the Carlovingian *Saxonia*. The same was the case with the—

§ 46. *Varini*, whose relations to the *Angli* were remarkable. In Tacitus' notice—

Heligoland suits the *Angli* best; Rugen the *Varini*.

Heligoland is German in respect to its old mythology—Angle or Frisian.

Rugen, however, is not German. It is Obotrite, which is Slavonic.

If *Hertha* be the right reading, and if it mean the *Earth*, Heligoland is the better and likelier spot for worship; since *Hertha* is a German word.

Nevertheless, the evidence of the *Varini* having been Slavonic is very strong. We find, in the tenth century, the name *Warnavi* (*Warnahi*, *Warnabi*), as the name of an unequivocally Slavonic population.

I reconcile these difficulties by suggesting that the *Varini* had one *holy island*, and the *Angli* another—so that the

insulæ sacræ, with their corresponding *casta nemora*, were *two* in number, and I submit that a writer, with no better means of knowing the exact truth than Tacitus, might, in such a case, when he recognised the *insular* character common to the two forms of *cultus*, easily and pardonably refer them to one and the same island. In other words, he might know the general fact that the *Angli* and *Varini* worshipped in an island, without knowing the particular fact of their each having a separate one. If so—

The hypothesis is as follows:—

a. The true and undoubtedly Germanic *Angli* worshipped in Heligoland.

b. The probably Slavonic *Varini* worshipped in the Isle of Rugen.

c. The *holy island* of Tacitus is that of the *Angli*—

d. With whom the *Varini* are inaccurately associated—

e. The source of the inaccuracy lying in the fact of that nation having a *holy island*, different from that of the Angles, but not known to be so.

Tacitus is not the only author who associates the *Angli* and *Varini*. Procopius does so also. He tells us that Radiger, a prince of the Varni, has an Angle princess betrothed to him. He deserts her for Theodechild, his father's widow. The princess sails to the mouth of the Rhine, conquers and forgives him. Date between A.D. 534 and A.D. 547. Theodechild, the widow, was sister to Theudibert, king of the Franks. As given in extracts from Procopius, the story is as follows—the term *Brittia* (not *Britannia*) requiring especial notice; as, also, do the statements concerning the island so-called:—“A certain man, named Hermegisclus, ruled over the Varni; and he, being anxious to strengthen his kingdom, had married the sister of Theudibertus, king of the Franks; for his former wife had recently died, having given birth to a boy, called Radiger, whom she left to his father. To him his father betrothed a virgin of *Brittian* race, whose brother was at that time king of the nation of the *Angili*, giving her great wealth under the name of dowry. This man, riding in a certain district with some of the Varnian nobility, saw a bird sit-

ting on a tree and croaking excessively. And then, whether he understood the cry of the bird, or having other information, he pretended that he knew the bird's predictions; he said immediately to those present, that he should die within forty days; for so the boding of the bird portended him; 'I, therefore,' said he, 'providing beforehand how you may live most securely and quietly, have made affinity with the Franks, having taken my wife from among them, and have contracted a *Brittian* alliance for my son. But now, as I am persuaded I must die very shortly, and as I have neither male nor female issue by this wife, and, moreover, as my son is yet unwedded and unmatched, I will communicate to you my views: and if they do not seem inexpedient to you, as soon as I arrive at the term of my existence, prosecuting them successfully, carry them into effect. I think, therefore, that affinity with the Franks, rather than with *islanders*, would be beneficial to the Varni, and the Franks have only the waters of the *Rhine* between them, so that, being our nearest neighbours, and extremely powerful, they have the facility of benefiting or of injuring us whenever they please, and they will injure us in every way, unless our affinity with them prevent it. Let the female islander betrothed to my son be abandoned, receiving as a compensation for this slight, the whole of the wealth with which she has been honoured by us on this occasion, as the established customs of men prescribe. But let Radiger, my son, hereafter marry his step-mother, as our national usage permits.'"

Hermegisclus dies; and Radiger prepares to desert his betrothed Brittian. She, to prevent or revenge his desertion, "collecting four hundred vessels, and embarking in them an armament of not less than one hundred thousand warriors, advanced in person against the Varni. She took with her also one of her brothers, to conduct affairs in conjunction with her for the present; not him, indeed, who held the kingdom, but another, who filled a private station. Of all the barbarians whom we know, these islanders are the most warlike, and they proceed on foot to their battles. So far from being exercised in horsemanship, they have never had even the chance of knowing what a horse is, since they have never

seen in this island even a representation of it; for it appears that such an animal never existed in Brittia. Should it happen, therefore, occasionally to any of these people to go on an embassy, or for any other cause, to the Romans or Franks, or elsewhere where horses were used, and should it be necessary for them to proceed on horseback, then have they no device whatever for mounting, but other men lifting them up, place them on the horses; and, when wishing to dismount, they lift them again, and place them on the ground. Neither, indeed, are the Varni horsemen, but men who fight altogether on foot. Such, then, are these barbarians; neither in this expedition was there a single person unemployed in the vessels, each man taking an oar; nor do these islanders make use of sails, their navigation being effected by rowing only."

To proceed—the maiden herself builds a fort on the mouth of the Rhine, keeps within it, but sends her brother against the enemy. The battle is in favour of the Angli. Radiger flies;—the brother returns;—is upbraided for letting Radiger escape; goes after him again; and brings him back. Radiger is reproached accordingly until he excuses himself, professing that "if she were still willing, he should marry her; and would atone for his former misdeeds by his future actions. And when these things pleased the damsel, Radiger was both released from his bonds and honoured with other marks of kindness; whereupon he immediately renounces the sister of Theudibert and marries the *Brittian*."

The geography is as strange as any part of this strange story. The inhabitants of this Brittia "declare that the conducting of souls devolves on them in turn. Such of them, therefore, as on the ensuing night are to go on this occupation, in their turn of service, retiring to their dwellings as soon as it grows dark, compose themselves to sleep, awaiting the conductor of the expedition. All at once, at night, they perceive that their doors are shaken, and they hear a certain indistinct voice summoning them to their work. Without delay, arising from their beds, they proceed to the shore, not understanding the necessity which thus constrains them, yet, nevertheless, compelled by its influence. And here they perceive vessels in readiness, wholly void of men; not, however, their

own, but certain strange vessels, in which embarking, they lay hold on the oars, and feel their burden made heavier by a multitude of passengers, the boats being sunk to the gunwale and rowlock, and floating scarce a finger above the water. They see not a single person; but having rowed for one hour only, they arrived at *Brittia*: whereas when they navigate their own vessels, not making use of sails but rowing, they arrive there with difficulty even in a night and day. Having reached the island, and been released from their burden, they depart immediately, the boats quickly becoming light, suddenly emerging from the stream, and sinking in the water no deeper than the keel. These people see no human being, either while navigating with them, or when released from the ship; but they hear a certain voice, which seems to announce to such as receive them the names of all who have crossed over with them, describing the dignities which they formerly possessed, and calling them over by their hereditary titles. And also if women happen to cross over with them, they call over the names of the husbands with whom they lived. These, then, are the things which men of that district declare to take place."

Such a *Brittia* as this can scarcely be *Britain*; indeed the two are specially distinguished from each other. "In this [northern] ocean lies the island *Brittia*, not far from the continent, but as much as two hundred stadia, right opposite to the outlets of the Rhine, and is between *Britannia* and the island Thule. For *Britannia* lies somewhere towards the setting sun, at the extremity of the country of the Spaniards, distant from the continent not less than four thousand stadia; but *Brittia* lies at the hindermost extremity of Gaul where it borders on the ocean, that is to say, to the north of Spain and Britain. Three very numerous nations possess *Brittia*, over each of which a king presides; which nations are named Angli, Phrissones, and those surnamed from the island, Brittones."

But then, on the other hand,—to say nothing about the Angli and Phrissones (Frisians) just mentioned,—we have a notice, a little further on, of what seems to be the Wall of Britain:—"moreover, in this Isle of *Brittia*, men of ancient

time built a long *wall*, cutting off a great portion of it, &c."

By repeating, *mutatis mutandis*, the criticism that applied to the two Holy Islands, we shall see our way through this confusion.

The Brittia of the men whose business was the conduct of souls was (*pro tanto*) a holy island. Was it Heligoland? This would suit the Angles. Was it Rugen? This would suit the Brittones.

Rugen would best suit the Brittones; the reason for its doing so lying in a statement in the *Germania* of Tacitus, to the effect that there was a language akin to the British spoken on the Baltic:—"dextro Suevici maris litore Æstorum gentes alluuntur: quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, *lingua Britannicæ* proprior." (§. xlv.) How Tacitus came to write this will be considered in the sequel; at present we take it as the assumed authority for Procopius, who had to deal with a part of the world of which he knew next to nothing.

I think, that the Brittia of Procopius was not Britannia at all;

Nor yet Rugen exclusively;

Nor yet Heligoland exclusively;

Nor yet any part of the coast exclusively; but that it was a sort of *tertium quid* arising out of a confusion of the attributes of some two (or more) of them.

§ 47. A notice of a Code of Laws, in the heading of which (according to the common reading) the Angli and Werini are associated, finds no place here. It belongs to the time subsequent to Charlemagne.

Without being able to satisfy myself as to the exact relations between the Varini and Angli, I limit myself to the opinion that, although they were contiguous, or nearly contiguous, populations, one in Hanover and the other in Mecklenburg, there is no reason to believe that the Varini took part in the Angle invasion of England.

Having thus gone through the texts of Tacitus and Procopius, we may truly say that the history of the Angles of Germany is obscure; that we only know what they were from their relation to the Angles of England; and, even here, our

knowledge is very limited. They spoke the mother-tongue of the present English. This is a fact which no man need doubt or refine on; but it is about the only one we have. The reasons for this obscurity lie in their geographical position, and in the relations between them and the neighbouring populations. The Angles of Germany were too far north to come in contact with the Romans. We met with no Angli in the great Arminian Confederacy. When the Romans were the aggressors the Angli lay beyond the pale of their ambition. When the Romans were on the defensive the Angli were beyond the opportunity of attack.

Ptolemy's notice of the Angles is as follows:—

Τῶν δὲ ἐντὸς καὶ μεσογείων ἔθνων μέγιστα μὲν ἔστι τό, τε τῶν Σουήβων τῶν Ἀγγειλῶν, οἳ εἰσιν ἀνατολικώτεροι τῶν Λαγγοβάρδων ἀνατείνοντες πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους μέχρι τῶν μέσων τοῦ Ἀλβίου ποταμοῦ καὶ τὸ τῶν Σουήβων τῶν Σεμνόνων, οἵτινες διήκουσι μετὰ τὸν Ἀλβιν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρημένου μέρους πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέχρι τοῦ Σουήβου ποταμοῦ καὶ τὸ τῶν Βουγούντων τὰ ἐφεξῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Οὐιστούλα κατεχόντων.

Now—

a. The Angli of Tacitus were *probably* on the south side of the Elbe; the Angli of Ptolemy were *certainly* so.

b. The Angli of Tacitus were *probably* a large population; the Angli of Ptolemy were *certainly* so.

c. But the Angli of Beda and the current historians were, at one and the same time, small in respect to their area, and occupants of a district beyond, or north of, the Elbe. In other words, they were unimportant Nordalbingians.

More facts must be dealt with before these discrepancies are explained. At present, however, I so far anticipate my decision as to call attention to the magnitude of such a fact as the Angle conquest of Britain, to remark that a great effect implies a great cause, and to infer from this that the *primâ facie* view is in favour of the mother country of the English Language being measured by the measure of Ptolemy rather than by that of Beda.

CHAPTER VII.

GERMAN ORIGIN, ETC.—PARTS OF GERMANY, ETC.—EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.—CLASSICAL AUTHORS.—PTOLEMY.—SAXONS.

§ 48. PTOLEMY, as has been already stated, is the first writer who gives us the name *Saxon*. What does he say about it? What he says of the Angli we have seen.

The *Saxons* of Ptolemy lay to the north of the Elbe, on the neck of the Chersonese, and the Sigulones occupied the Chersonese itself, *westwards*.

“Then,” writes Ptolemy, “come—

2. *The Sabalingii*; then—

3. *The Kobandi*; above these—

4. *The Chali*; and above them, but more to the west—

5. *The Phundusii*; more to the east—

6. *The Charudes*; and more to the north of all—

7. *The Cimbri*.

8. *The Pharodini* lay next to the Saxons, between the rivers Chalusus and Suebus.”

The text is as follows:—

Τὴν δὲ παρωκεανίτιν κατέχουσιν ὑπὲρ μὲν τοὺς Βουσακτέρους οἱ Φρίσσιοι μέχρι τοῦ Ἀμασίου ποταμοῦ· μετὰ δὲ τούτους Καῦχοι οἱ μικροὶ μέχρι τοῦ Οὐισούργιος ποταμοῦ· εἴτα Καῦχοι οἱ μείζους μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβιος ποταμοῦ· ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Κιμβρικῆς Χερσονήσου Σάξονες· αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Χερσόνησον ὑπὲρ μὲν τοὺς Σάξοντας Σιγούλωνες ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, εἴτα Σαβαλιγγοί, εἴτα Κοβανδοί.

Ὑπὲρ οὗς Χάλοι, καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ τούτους δυσμικώτεροι μὲν Φουνδοῦσοι, ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ Χαροῦδες, πάντων δὲ ἀρκτικώτεροι Κίμβροι.

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Σάξοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλούσου ποταμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Σουήβου ποταμοῦ Φαροδεινοί.

In another place “the three islands of the Saxons are mentioned”—Σαξόνων νήσοι τρεῖς.

Except the Cimbri, all these populations, *with their names*

as they stand in *Ptolemy*, are strange to Tacitus. I say with the names as they stand in *Ptolemy*, because by certain assumptions, more or less legitimate, three of them have been considered as identified with certain names found elsewhere. These three are the *Pharodini*, the *Phundusii*, and the *Cobandi*; the first of which words has been made into *Suardones*, the second into *Eudoses*, and the third into *Aviones*, all populations whose names appear in Tacitus; all populations whose names are likely to have reached the Greek and Latin writers through different and varying *media*, and, consequently, all populations upon which an amount of conjecture somewhat beyond the average is admissible. The identifications are Zeus's; identifications upon which I pass no opinion, except to say that they seem by no means unreasonable.

There is not much to be said about the *Sigulones*. They appear nowhere else.

Neither do the *Chali* give us any details of importance.

The *Harudes* have been already noticed. They belonged to some of the well-wooded districts of *Lauenburg*, or *Holstein* (*Holsatia*).

The *Cimbri*, even if a near population, lie too far north for any part of what was afterwards *Nordalbingia*.

§ 49. Respecting the *Sabalingii*, I have an hypothesis. Transpose the B and the L and the word becomes *Sa-lab-ing-ii*. What of this?

1. The Slavonic name of the *Elbe* is *Laba*; and—

2. The Slavonic for *Transalbian*, as a term for the population beyond the *Elbe*, would be *Sa-lab-ingii*. This compound is common. The Finns of *Karelia* are called *Za-volok-ian*, because they live beyond the *volok* or *watershed*. The *Kossacks* of the *Dnieper* are called *Za-porog-ian*, because they live beyond the *porog* or *waterfall*. The populations in question I imagine to have been called *Sa-lab-ingian*, because they lived beyond the *Laba*, or *Elbe*.

This is hypothesis; but we must remember that a name closely akin to *Sa-lab-ingian* actually occurs at the beginning of the Historical period. The population of the *Duchy of Lauenburg* is (then) Slavonic. So is that of south-eastern

Holstein. So is that of Luneburg. Now the name of these Slavonians of the Elbe is *Po-lab-ingii* (*on the Elbe*), just as *Po-mora-nia* is the country *on the sea*. Of the *Po-labingians*, then, the *Sa-labingii* were (by hypothesis) the section belonging to that side of the Elbe to which the tribe that used the term did *not* belong.

§ 50. The *Saxons* of Ptolemy fall into two divisions—those of the continent and those of the islands. The conditions under which the former must come are as follows:—

a. They must lie as far south as the Elbe, in order to come next (ἐφεξῆς) to the Chauci Majores.

b. They must be on the *neck* of the Chersonese; which *neck* may mean one of two things; either the line between Hamburg and Lubeck, or the line between the Tonningen and Rendsburg.

c. They must touch the sea; inasmuch as the fact of any island being *Saxon* implies that the coast opposite to it (the *Peræa*, so to say) was Saxon also.

d. They must lie sufficiently to the west to have the *Sala-bingians* on the east; and—

e. They must lie sufficiently to the east to have the Sigulones on the west.

Nevertheless, as aforesaid, they must touch the sea.

These are not very easy conditions to satisfy—indeed, unless we suppose that Ptolemy's maps were slightly different from our own, they are impracticable.

Without, then, attempting any closer details than our materials will allow, let us identify the continental part of the *Saxon* area of Ptolemy with the districts of *Stormar* and *Ditmarsh*.

The Saxons of the *Islands* are also difficult to fix. Sylt, Fohr, and Nordstrand, are the ones most generally quoted. Perhaps, however the relations of the land and water have altered since the time of Ptolemy; so that the physical history of the North Sea may be the proper complement to the ethnological inquiries for these parts. The matter is unimportant. It is only necessary to remember that there were Saxons on two localities—Saxons on the islands, and Saxons on the sea-coast, Insular Saxons, and Saxons (so to say) of the *Peræa*.

To what language did this word *Saxon* in Ptolemy belong? Was it native, *i. e.* did the Saxons use it to designate themselves? We cannot answer this question in the affirmative. Nor yet can we say that it was German. In Tacitus, where the names *are* German, it finds no place. This is *pro tanto* against it. Add to this that none of the names with which it is associated can be shown to be German, *e. g.* Sigulones, Kobandi, &c. On the contrary, one, by hypothesis, is Slavonic.

The evidence that the *Saxons* belonged to the Angli branch of the German family is just as inconclusive. They may have been in the same category with the Chauci Majores, *i. e.* Frisians. Or they may have been Slavonians, extensions of the Slavonic population of what, in the Carolingian times, was Wagria and Polabingia—the former in eastern Holstein, the latter in Lauenburg.

CHAPTER VIII.

GERMAN ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—PARTS OF GERMANY, ETC.—CONSIDERATION OF THE CHANGES WHICH MAY HAVE TAKEN PLACE BETWEEN THE CLASSICAL AND THE CARLOVINGIAN PERIOD.

§ 51. THE mother-country of the German invaders of England was, in the time of the Carlovingians (say the tenth century) and in the eyes of the Franks, included in *Frisia* along with *Saxonia*, or (changing the expression) *Saxonia* along with *Frisia*. Of these two areas, *Saxonia* fell into divisions and subdivisions:—

I. Frisia.

II. Saxonia.

A. *Cisalbian*.

Westphalia.

Angraria.

Ostphalia.

1. South.

3. Middle.

3. North (?).

B. *Transalbian* (*Nordalbingian*).

1. Thiedmarsii.

2. Stormarii.

3. Holsati.

In the time of the classical writers (say the first or second centuries) the subsequently Carlovingian—

I. Frisia was the country of the Frisii Majores, Frisii Minores, and Chauci.

II. Saxonia, that of the—

1. Angrivarii in Angraria.

2. Chamavi, Dulgubini, and Chasuarii in Westphalia.

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|-------------|
| 3. <i>a.</i> Cherusci for South, | } | Eastphalia. |
| <i>b.</i> Fosi for Middle, and | | |
| <i>c.</i> Angli for North | | |

4. Saxones, Sigulones, and Harudes for Nordalbingia.

The Suevi (Σουῆβοι) have (for the present) been eliminated from the investigation—ignored, so to say. They, with the Langobardi stand over for further notice.

§ 52. Looking, in the first instance, to the texts of the classical writers only, we cannot but observe that, although there is a certain amount of agreement between the texts of Tacitus and Ptolemy, there is a considerable deal of difference also ; and—

Still more is this the case with the Classical and Carlovingian accounts; *e. g.* the Saxony of Ptolemy consists of a small tract of land in the so-called Cimbric Chersonese, whereas the Saxony of Charlemagne is a vast region.

Again—and, to a certain extent, the consequence of the preceding—several of the individual tribes of Tacitus are no longer apparent. Thus, there are no Fosi; no Cherusci; no Longobardi; since the Carlovingian Longobardi are the Lombards of Lombardy, Lombards of Italy—not of Germany. Even the Angles are known only as the Angles of Britain—England—the Island. There is a faint notice of the Angles of the continent—the descendants of the Angli of Tacitus; but nothing more.

These discrepancies must be investigated; since it is very important for us to know whether the *Saxonia* of the tenth century do or do not contain the descendants of the occupants of the same area in the second, third, or fourth. It may do this, or it may not. If it do, the history of the English Language is simplified. Fix the Angli of Tacitus to a certain part of Germany, and find how that part is occupied under the Carlovingian period, and you determine the original country of the ancestors of the present English. The name has changed, but the population is the same.

Assume, on the other hand, a migration, a conquest, or an extermination, and the whole question is altered; or, rather, a new one is raised, and the origin of the Angles of England is an unsolved problem.

§ 53. It is certain there has been a change of some sort. The population may have changed, the name remaining the same. The name may have changed, the population remaining the same. Were the Cherusci, for instance, bodily changed, either by being exterminated on their soil, or by being transported elsewhere? or did they only lose the name Cherusci, taking (instead) that of Saxons? Cæsar, Strabo, Velleius Paterculus, all speak of the Cherusci and all say nothing about the Saxons. On the other hand Claudian is the last writer in whom we find the word Cherusci.

“—— venit accola silvæ
Bructerus Hercyniæ, latisque paludibus exit
Cimber, et ingentes Albim liquere *Cherusci*.”

Consul. iv. Honor. 450.

As long as we have the Cherusci there are no Saxons. As soon as we meet with the Saxons, the Cherusci disappear.

If we wish to cut the Gordian knot, we can have recourse to the assumption of migration and displacement—in which case the Old Saxons cease to be the descendants of the Cherusci and their allies, and represent a new and intrusive population as foreign to the old Cheruscan country of Germany as they were to that of the Britons. There are certain facts that encourage this view. If so, the change is a *real* one. But there are others that suggest a different set of facts. *The name may have changed, the population remaining the same.* If so, the change is *nominal*.

Nominal changes are of three kinds.

a. A population that at a certain period designated itself by a certain term, may let that term fall into disuse and substitute another in its place. When this has been done, a name has been actually changed.

b. A population may have more than one designation, *e. g.* it may take one name when it is considered in respect to its geographical position, another in respect to its political relations, and a third in respect to its habits, &c. Of such names one may preponderate at one time, and another at another.

c. Thirdly, its own name may remain unchanged, but the

name under which it is spoken of by another population may alter.

Now, I hold that *real* changes are rarer than *nominal* ones; and that not in Germany only but all the world over. It is rare for a population to be absolutely exterminated. It is rare for a migration to empty a whole country. Possibly, however, I may have a tendency to exaggerate the rarity of these phenomena; since there are many competent authorities who think differently. This may or may not be the case. In either alternative, however, the following rules are safe ones—safe, and, if ethnology is to be anything better than guess-work, indispensable.*

1. *Neither migrations nor exterminations are to be multiplied unnecessarily.* 2. *Real changes are not to be assumed from nominal ones.*

Fundamentally, these two rules are one, or rather, they both flow from the same fact, viz. from that of nominal changes being far commoner than real ones.

§ 54. Of the *nominal* changes, which is commonest, I cannot exactly say; I can only say that the third is very common.

Leaving, however, the notice of the general principle, we shall find that out of the lists of Tacitus and Ptolemy the two names which we have the best reason for believing to have been, at one and the same time, *special and native*, re-appear in the Carlovingian times, and that *in situ*. These names are *Angli*, and *Angrivarii*=*Engle*, and *Angrarii*. The *Engle*, it is true, are *extra situm*, i. e. in Britain also. Nevertheless, they are in Germany also.

Angli and *Angrivarii* are names which we have the best reason for considering to be, at one and the same time, *native and special*.

Cherusci is native (i. e. German), but not special.

Sabalingii is neither special nor native (being, by hypothesis, *Slavonic*).

* These are the *results* of the author's investigations and reflections. The reasons on which they rest are not given. In his *Germania* of Tacitus, with *Ethnological Notes* (*Prolegomena* viii.), he has gone more fully into the question: indeed, the whole of the work referred to is a comment on the text just laid down.

This is as much as will be said at present, viz. that no *real* change of any magnitude, between the times of Tacitus and the Carlovingian annalists, can be assumed; the *nominal* changes being considerable; but even these are of the third, or slightest kind.

The other results to which the criticism leads will be kept back until the *internal* evidence bearing upon the ethnographical philosophy of the English Language has been considered.

CHAPTER IX.

GERMAN ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. — PARTS OF GERMANY FROM WHICH IT WAS INTRODUCED. — INTERNAL EVIDENCE. — LANGUAGE. — PRELIMINARY REMARKS. — THE OLD SAXON.

§ 55. THE terms Old Saxon and Frisian have been used. They bring us to a new investigation, viz. that of the philological affinities of the English Language—the more immediate and closer affinities, not the wider and more general ones.

The written language nearest akin to the written English of the present century is the written English of the last—and so on.

The unwritten forms of speech nearest akin to the written English are the provincial dialects of the counties of Huntingdon, Rutland, the north-eastern part of Northamptonshire, and the southern part of Lincolnshire.

This means that the standard of our speech is in its newest form to be found in the most recent written compositions of the *literati* of England; and that the dialects (if so they can be called) of the districts just named are the purest of our provincial modes of speaking.

But the two statements carry with them something beyond this. They suggest the fact that when languages become the vehicles of literature and the exponents of the thoughts of educated men, they must be viewed in two ways.

a. They must be viewed in respect to the written and literary language of the country to which they belong in its earlier forms; and—

b. They must be viewed in respect to the provincial dialects spoken around and contemporary with them.

Both these are points of minute philology, and neither of them finds its full exposition in the present chapter. They are merely indicated. Special notice will be taken of the different stages of our tongue and special notice will be taken of our provincial dialects hereafter. The point immediately before us is, the question of the general relations of the English to the other allied languages of the Continent of Europe, the area on which it originated. In which case, all the different dialects and all the differences of the same dialect are merged under the common denomination of English; and the English language means English and Anglo-Saxon—English and Lowland Scotch—English and the English provincial or the literary dialects; these being dealt with generally and collectively as elements and ingredients of a single tongue.

§ 56. When languages first separate from a common stock they are most like each other. Hence, in comparing the speech of England with the speech of Germany, we take the languages of the two countries in the first known period of their growth. English and the Dutch of Holland are alike in their present forms; but English and Dutch in their oldest known respective forms are liker still.

This rule is general and convenient, but it is not universal. Although when languages first separate from a common stock they are most like each other, it does not always follow that the longer they are separated the more unlike they become. Languages which differ in an older form may so far change according to some common principle as to become identical in a newer one.

To take a single instance. Let two languages have different signs of the infinitive mood. Let each lose this sign. What follows? Even this, that the two originally different forms become similar.

Thus *bærn-an* is Anglo-Saxon, *bærn-a* Frisian. Here is difference. Eject the last syllable. The remainder is *bærn*. Here is likeness.

Hence it follows that when two languages have in their older stages been differentiated from each other by means of characters that become obsolete as the language grows modern, they may grow liker and liker as time proceeds.

Let (for instance) the languages *a* and *b* belong to the eighth century, agreeing in other respects, but differing from each other in respect to certain characteristics which will become lost during the eighteenth.

Let *c*, a language of the nineteenth century, originally have agreed with *a* in everything but the lost characteristics.

It will agree in its later forms with *b* as well, and may, consequently, be derived from either.

§ 57. With these preliminary points of criticism, we may look to the Continent of Germany and ask about the languages there spoken, which are nearest akin to our own.

The mother-tongue of the present English is called Anglo-Saxon, and no written specimen of this Anglo-Saxon can be shown to have originated otherwise than as the language of *England*, and on *English* ground. The manuscripts by which they have been transmitted to us were written in English monasteries; and the dialects which they embody are the dialects of certain English counties. We cannot often give the exact locality, nor yet determine the particular form of speech represented, but we can always safely say that England was the country in which the language was spoken and the words written. I am not aware of any exception to these statements. If such exist, they are unimportant.

Yet the English language originated in Germany nevertheless; and in Germany the so-called Anglo-Saxon must have been spoken during the whole period that the English invasion was going on, as well as for some time both before it began and after it had left off. It was certainly *spoken*, and may have been *written*. It may have been written, or (if not written) embodied in poetry, and so handed down orally. Have any such specimens come down to us? This was answered in the negative when it was stated that all the extant specimens of the mother-tongue of the present English are of English origin. Consequently, they are all later than the Anglo-Saxon invasions.

This, however, applies only to the *form* of the Anglo-Saxon compositions. I do not say that the *matter* of some of them may not be continental. For instance, there is a famous poem called *Beowulf*, in which no mention is made of England

at all, and of which the heroes are Danes, Frisians, Geats, and Angles—Angles as they were in the original Angle-land of Germany, not Angles after the fashion of Ecbert, Alfred, and the English kings. Nevertheless, it is only the *matter* of Beowulf that is continental. Its *language* is that of the Anglo-Saxons of England, and England was the country in which it took the Anglo-Saxon form. Originally Pagan and German, it took its ultimate form from the hands of a Christian and an Anglo-Saxon of England.

There is no such thing, then, as a specimen of language which is at one and the same time Anglo-Saxon in form and continental in origin.

§ 58. There is, however, something like it. If we eject from the word Anglo-Saxon the prefix *Angle*, we are enabled to consider the word *Saxon* as a sort of generic term for a group of closely-allied dialects, of which the mother-tongue of the present English was one. Others they might have; others there probably were; others there actually were. Although there are no vestiges of the *Anglo*-Saxon of the Continent, there still is a Saxon form of speech of continental origin.

Instead of *Anglo*- write *Old*-, and you have the current and ordinary name by which the language under notice is designated by the scholars of the nineteenth century; viz. *Old-Saxon*—*Old-Saxon* as opposed to *Anglo-Saxon*, with *Anglo-Saxon* as opposed to *Old-Saxon*.

How far either of the elements of this compound (*Old* and *Saxon*) is exceptionable or unexceptionable will be considered hereafter. The present chapter deals with the *real* rather than the *nominal* question as to the nature of a particular form of speech spoken in a particular part of Germany during, and for some time subsequent to, the reign of Charlemagne. This, whatever else it may be, is the Saxon of the Continent (or Germany) as contrasted with the Saxon of the British Isle (or England).

It is the Saxon of the Continent, not because it was never spoken in England, but because it is only known to us by specimens which took the form in which they have come

down to us in some part of continental Germany. And similarly—

The Anglo-Saxon is the Saxon of England, not because it was never spoken in continental Germany (for it *was* so spoken), but because it is known to us by specimens which took the form in which they have come down to us in some part of insular England.

§ 59. *Old-Saxon compositions*.—The *Old-Saxon* specimens which have come down to us are not numerous. The first in importance is called the *Heliand*. This means *Healer*, or *Saviour*; the work so entitled being a Gospel History in the Old-Saxon language, and in metre.

Although it was in some part of Westphalia that the *Heliand* took its *Old-Saxon* form, it was in an English library that the MS. of it was first discovered. Hence it passed for a form of the Anglo-Saxon. But this form was so peculiar as to require an hypothesis to account for it; and the doctrine that a certain amount of *Danish* influence was the cause of it so far took form, and gained credence, as to establish the term *Dano-Saxon*. In the eyes, then, of Hickes, Lye, and the older Anglo-Saxon scholars, the *Heliand* was a *Dano-Saxon* composition, and so it continued until the present century, when not only was its Danish character denied, but its Westphalian origin was indicated. Hence came the name *Old-Saxon*.

Specimen.

Heliand, pp. 12, 13. (*Schmeller's Edition*.)

LUC. II. 8—13.

Tho uuard managun cud,
Obar thesa uuidon uuerold.
Uuardos antfundun,
Thea thar ehuscalcos
Uta uuaron,
Uueros an uuahtu,
Uuiggeo gomean,
Fehas aftar felda :
Gisahun finistri an tuue
Telatan an lufte ;

Then it was to many known,
Over this wide world.
The words they discovered,
Those that there, as horse-grooms,
Without were,
Men at watch,
Horses to tend,
Cattle on the field—
They saw the darkness in two
Dissipated in the atmosphere,

Endi quam liht Godes,
 Uuanum thurh thui uuolcan;
 Endi thea uuardos thar
 Bifeng an them felda.
 Sie uurdun an forhtun tho,
 Thea man an ira moda;
 Gisahun thar mahtigna
 Godes Engil cuman;
 The im tegegnes sprac.
 Het that im thea uuardos—
 “Uuiht ne antdredin
 Ledes fon them lihta.
 Ic scal eu quadhe liobora thing,
 Suido uuarlico
 Uuilleon seggean,
 Cudean craft mikil.
 Nu is Krist geboran,
 An thesero selbun naht,
 Salig barn Godes,
 An thera Davides burg,
 Drohtin the godo.
 That is mendislo
 Manno cunneas,
 Allaro firiho fruma.
 Thar gi ina fidan mugun,
 An Bethlema burg,
 Barno rikiost.
 Hebbiath that te tecna,
 That ic eu gitellean mag,
 Uuarun uuordun,
 That he thar biuundan ligid,
 That kind an enera cribbiun,
 Tho he si cuning obar al
 Erdun endi himiles,
 Endi obar eldeo barn,
 Uueroldes uualdand.”
 Reht so he tho that uuord gespra-
 cenun
 So uuard thar engilo te them
 Unrim cuman,
 Helag heriskepi,
 Fon hebanuuanga,
 Fagar folc Godes,
 Endi filu sprakun,
 Lofuuord manag,
 Liudeo herron;

And came a light of God
 —through the welkin;
 And the words there
 Caught on the field.
 They were in fright then
 The men in their mood—
 They saw there mighty
 God's angel come;
 That to them face-to-face spake.
 It bade thus them these words—
 “Dread not a whit
 Of mischief from the light.
 I shall to you speak glad things,
 Very true;
 Say commands;
 Show strength great.
 Now is Christ born,
 In this self-same night;
 The blessed child of God,
 In the David's city,
 The Lord the good.
 That is exultation
 To the races of men,
 Of all men the advancement.
 There ye may find him
 In the city of Bethlehem,
 The noblest of children—
 Ye have as a token
 That I tell ye
 True words,
 That he there swathed lieth,
 The child in a crib,
 Though he be King over all
 Earth and Heaven,
 And over the sons of men,
 Of the world the Ruler.”
 Right as he that word spake,
 So was there of Angels to them,
 In a multitude, come
 A holy host,
 From the Heaven-plains,
 The fair folk of God,
 And much they spake
 Praise-words many,
 To the Lord of Hosts.

Afhobun tho helagna sang,
 Tho sie eft te hebanuuanga
 Uundun thurh thiu uuolcan.
 Thea uuardos hordun,
 Huo thiu engilo craft
 Alomahtigna God,
 Suido uuerdlico,
 Uuordun louodun.
 "Diurida si nu," quadun sie,
 "Drohtine selbun,
 An them hohoston
 Himilo rikea ;
 Endi fridu an erdu,
 Firiho barnum,
 Goduuilligun gumun,
 Them the God antkennead,
 Thurh hluttran hugi."

They raised the holy song,
 As they back to the Heaven-plains
 Wound through the welkin.
 The words they heard,
 How the strength of the Angels
 The Almighty God,
 Very worthily,
 With words praised.
 "Love be there now," quoth they,
 "To the Lord himself
 On the highest
 Kingdom of Heaven,
 And peace on earth
 To the children of men,
 Goodwilled men
 Who know God,
 Through a pure mind."

Next in length to the Heliand come what are called the *Carolinian Psalms*.

Specimen.

FROM THE TEXT OF A. YPEIJ.

Taalkundig Magazijn. P. 1, No. 1.—p. 54.

Psalm LIV.

2. GEHORI got gebet min, in ne furuuir bida mina ; thenke te mi in gehori mi.

3. Gidruouit bin an tilogon minro, in mistrot bin fan stimmon fundes, in fan arbeide sundiges.

4. Uuanda geneigedon an mi unreht, in an abulge unsuoti uuaron mi.

5. Herta min gidruouit ist an mi, in forta duodis fiel ouir mi.

6. Forthta in biuonga quamon ouer mi, in bethecoda mi thuisternussi.

7. In ic quad "uuie sal geuan mi fetheron also duuon, in ic fiugon sal, in raston sal."

8. Ecco ! firroda ic fliende, inde bleif an eudi.

9. Ic sal beidan sin, thie behaldon mi deda fan luzzilheide geistis in fan geuuidere.

10. Bescurgi, herro, te deile tunga iro, uuanda ic gesag unriht in fluoc an burgi.

11. An dag in naht umbefangan sal sia ouir mura ira, unreht in arbeit an mitdon iro in unreht.

12. In ne te fuor fan straton iro prisma in losunga.

13. Uuanda of fiunt flukit mi, is tholodit geuuisso; in of thie thie hatoda mi, ouir mi mikila thing spreke, ic burge mi so mohti geburran, fan imo.

14. Thu geuuisso man einmuodigo, leido min in cundo min.

15. Thu samon mit mi suota nami muos, an huse gode giengon uuir mit geluni.

16. Cum dot ouir sia, in nithir stigin an hellon libbinda. Uuanda arheide an selethe iro, an mitdon ini.

17. Ic eft te gode riepo, in herro behielt mi.

18. An auont in an morgan in an mitdondage tellon sal ic, in kundon; in he gehoron sal.

19. Irlosin sal an frithe sela mina fan then, thia ginacont mi, uuanda under managon he uuas mit mi.

20. Gehorun sal got in ginetheron sal sia; thie ist er uueroldi.

21. Ne geuuisso ist ini uuihsil; in ne forchedon got. Theneda hant sina an uuitherloni.

Shorter than either the Heliand or the Carolinian Psalms is the third of the Old-Saxon compositions — *Hildebrand* and *Hathubrand*. Like the Heliand, it is in metre; but, unlike the Heliand, it is, if not a pagan poem, a poem founded on the legends of a semi-pagan period, Hildebrand and Hathubrand being heroes of that cycle of fictions of which the famous Diedrich of Berne (Theodoric of Verona) is the centre.

After this comes the so-called *Abrenuntiatio Diaboli*, which, like the Hildebrand and Hathubrand, points to the pagan period.

Forsachistu diabolae? Et *resp.* Ec forsacho diabolae, end allu diobolgelde. *Respon.* End ec forsacho allum diobolgeldae, end allu dioboles uuercum, anduuordum, Thunar ende Woden, ende Saxnote, ende allem them unholdum the hiro genotas sint.

Q. Gelobis tu in Got Alamehtigan Fadaer?

R. Ec gelobo in Got Alamehtigan Fadaer.

Q. Gelobis tu in Crist Godes Suno?

R. Ec gelobo in Crist Gotes Suno.

Q. Gelobis tu in Halogan Gast?

R. Ec gelobo in Halogan Gast.

In English.

Renouncest thou the Devil? *Answer.* I renounce the Devil, and all Devil-guilds. *Answer.* And I renounce all Devil-guilds, and all the Devil's works, and words; Thunar, and Woden, and Saxnot (?) and all the unholy (ones) who are their fellows.

Q. Believest thou in God, the Almighty Father?

R. I believe in God, the Almighty Father.

Q. Believest thou in Christ, God's Son?

R. I believe in Christ, God's Son.

Q. Believest thou in the Holy Ghost?

R. I believe in the Holy Ghost.

The remaining samples are of less importance, being equally fragmentary with the *Abrenuntiatio*, and less interesting. They may be found in Lacomblet's "Archiv für Geschichte des Niederrheins" (vol. i. pp. 4, 9), and in Graf's "Diutisca" (vol. ii. pp. 190, 192), consisting of a piece of legend relating to St. Boniface, a creed (quoted as *Confessionis Formula Essensis*), an extract from some monastic muniment (*Rotulus Essensis*), and a number of Glosses (*Glossæ Saxonicae*). The so-called *Frekenhorst Roll*, and the specimens in Lipsius, I have not seen. They are enumerated, however, by Schmeller, whose edition of the *Heliand* is the standard work on the Old Saxon. His third reference, too, to the "Diutisca" (vol. ii. pp. 195-230) is doubtful. The glosses there found seem to be Low German rather than Old Saxon,—though upon this point I speak with hesitation.

All these compositions represent the language of the German part of the Continent rather than of the island of Britain.

Of the Saxon parts of Germany, they represent Westphalia most especially.

They are certainly not Frisian.

They cannot be shown to be Ostphalian.

They are, then, so far as they are not absolutely and exclusively Westphalian, Angrarian or the Old Dutch of Holland, rather than aught else; Angrarian, when they come from the parts eastward, Old Dutch when they come from the parts westward.

CHAPTER X.

GERMAN ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—PARTS OF GERMANY, ETC.—INTERNAL EVIDENCE.—LANGUAGE.—THE FRISIAN.

§ 60. AT the present moment, Friesland is one of the united provinces that constitute the kingdom of Holland.

The Frisian form of speech, however, has in it so much of what is peculiar that it generally passes for something more than a mere dialect of the Dutch. The following specimen is, undoubtedly, as like the ordinary language of the kingdom of the Netherlands as any outlying provincial dialect of our own island is to the standard English. Still it differs; especially in the form of the infinitive mood—*drieuwe* as opposed to *drijven*. And when we go into the more distant dialects, or into the older samples, the difference increases. Hence, in the more extreme forms it is convenient to keep the standard literary Dutch of Holland, and the provincial Frisian of Friesland, more or less separate.

FRISIAN.	DUTCH.
1.	1.
De noordewyn hu kaald en stoer En fel yn winterflaaien, Al waait ze trog de laeae su soer, Ys mest nei uis behaaigen.	De noordewind zo koud en guur En fel in wintervlagen, Al waait hij door de leên zo zuur, Is meest naar ons behagen.
2.	2.
Al ys myn man den oppe see, Hy sol nei huis wol drieuwe, En yzzer tuis ov oppe ree, Su motter tuis wol blieuwe.	Al is mijn man dan op de zee, Hij zal naar huis wel drijven, En is hij 't huis of op de ree, Zo moet hij 'thuis wel blijven.

Besides the Frisian of the Dutch province of Friesland, there is the Frisian of Westphalia, or Hanover. This is

spoken only in the very fenny district called Saterland, or Sagelterland.

Besides the Frisian of the Dutch and Hanoverian Friesland, there is the Frisian of the island of Heligoland.

And akin to that there is what is called the *North* Frisian. This is spoken in that part of the duchy of Sleswick, which faces the North Sea, and lies between the towns Bredsted and Husum. The North Frisian has a Dual number.

DER FREYER VOM HOLSTEIN.

Diar kam en skep bi Sudher Siöe
 Me tri jung Fruers ön di Floot.
 Hokken wiar di fördeorst?
 Dit wiar Peter Rothgrun.
 Hud säät hi sin spooren?
 Fuar Hennerk Jerkens düür.
 Hokken kam tö Düür?
 Marrike sallef,
 Me Krük en Bekker ön di jen hundh,
 En gulde Ring aur di udher hundh.
 Jü nöödhight höm en sin Hinghist in,
 Död di Hingst Haaver und Peter wün.
 Toonkh Gott fuar des gud dei.
 Al di Brid end bridmaaner of wei,
 Butolter Marri en Peter allüning!
 Jü look höm ün to Kest
 En wildh höm nimmer muar mest.

In English.

There came a ship by the South Sea,
 With three young wooers on the flood;
 Who was the first?
 That was Peter Rothgrun.
 Where set he his tracts?
 For Hennerk Jerken's door.
 Who came to door?
 Mary-kin herself,
 With a pitcher (crock) and beaker in the one hand,
 A gold ring on the other hand.
 She pressed him and his horse (to come) in,
 Gave the horse oats and Peter wine.

Thank God for this good day!
All the brides and bridesmen out of the way!
Except Mary and Peter alone.
She locked him up in her box,
And never would miss him more.

In Dutch Friesland, the Frisian is the language of the agricultural population; so that, if Dutch be the language of the towns, it is Frisian which we find in the villages and farm-houses.

Frisian, too, is the language of that remarkable series of islands which runs like a row of breakwaters from the Helder to the Weser. Such are Ameland, Terschelling, Wangeroog, and the others—each with its dialect or sub-dialect.

But beyond this, the continuity of the range of language is broken; for Frisian is *not* the proper dialect of Groningen. Nor yet of Westphalia *generally*. Nor yet (notwithstanding the name) of East Friesland.

At present, then, the populations which speak the Frisian form of speech are broken and disjointed: inasmuch as the natural inference from their present distribution is the doctrine that, at some earlier period, they were spread over the whole of the sea-coast from Holland to Jutland, in other words, that they were the oldest inhabitants of Friesland, Oldenburg, Lower Hanover, and part of Holstein. If so, they must have been the *Frisii* of Tacitus. No one doubts this. They must also have been the *Chauci* of that writer, as has already been assumed.

The Frisian is a disjointed and broken population; its history being peculiar. In most cases where we find languages and peoples in a fragmentary condition there has been conquest, invasion, or amalgamation; in other words, the effects are the result of human agency. But the history of the Frisians, though human agencies have been important, is, to a great extent, a *physical* history. Some branches of the stem to which they belong have, certainly, been lopped off by the hand of man, by war, by famine, by oppression bravely withstood. But others have given way to a stronger and more unconquerable power—that of Nature. It is the Frisian area that most of the great inundations of the North Sea have

broken in upon. What Vesuvius has been to Campania, Ætna to Sicily, Hecla to Iceland, the Ocean has been to Frisia.

§ 61. *Stages of the Frisian Language.*—In Westphalia, Heligoland, and North Friesland, the specimens are all of recent date—all modern. But with Friesland Proper this is not the case. Over and above the numerous samples of the Frisian of the present century, there is a Frisian literature which dates as far back as the twelfth century. In this, are embodied the laws of the Free Frisians—both East (or Hanoverian) and West (or Dutch) Friesland.

The extent to which the *Old* Frisian of the laws resembles the Anglo-Saxon, and, as a consequence thereof, the English, has been enlarged upon by both jurists and philologues. The following extracts illustrate it:—

Asega-bog, i. 3. pp. 13, 14. (*Ed. Wiarda.*)

Thet is thiu thredde liodkest and thes Kynig Kerles ieft, theter allera monna ek ana sina eyna gode besitte umberavat. Hit ne se thet ma hine urwinne mith tele and mith rethe and mith riuchta thingate. Sa hebbere alsam sin Asega dema and dele to lioda londriuchte. Ther ne hach nen Asega nenne dom to delande hit ne se thet hi to fara tha Keysere fon Rume esweren hebbe and thet hi fon da liodon ekeren se. Sa hoch hi thenne to demande and to delande tha fiande alsare friounde, thruch des ethes willa, ther hi to fara tha Keysere fon Rume esweren heth, tho demande and to delande widuon and weson, waluberon and alle werlosa liodon, like to helpande and sine threa knilinge. Alsa thi Asega nimth tha unriuchta mida and tha urlouada panninga, and ma hini urtinga mi mith twam sine juenethon an thes Kyninges bonne, sa ne hoch hi nenne dom mar to delande, truch thet thi Asega thi biteknath thene prestere, hwande hia send siande and hia skilun wesa agon there heliga Kerstenede, hia skilun helpa alle tham ther hiam seluon nauwet helpa ne muge.

The same, in English.

That is the third determination and concession of King Charles, that of all men each one possess his own goods (house?) unrobbed. It may not be that any man overcome him with charge (tales), and with summons (rede), and with legal action. So let him hold as his Asega (judge) dooms and deals according to the land-right of the people. There shall no Asega deal a doom unless it be that before

the Cæsar of Rome he shall have sworn, and that he shall have been by the people chosen. He has then to doom and deal to foes as to friends, through the force (will) of the oath which he before the Cæsar of Rome has sworn, to doom and to deal to widows and orphans, to wayfarers and all defenceless people, to help them as his own kind in the third degree. If the Asega take an illegal reward, or pledged money, and a man convict him before two of his colleagues in the King's Court, he has no more to doom, since it is the Asega that betokens the priest, and they are seeing, and they should be the eyes of the Holy Christendom, they should help all those who may nought help themselves.

Old Frisian Laws—Later Form.

Friesche Volks-Almanak, pp. 84–85.

Dat oder landriucht is, hweerso dyo moder her kyndes eerwe foerkapet, jefta foerwixled mit har fryonda reed eer dat kind jerig is; als hit jerich se, likje him di caep, so halde hitt, ende likje him naet, so fare hit oen syn ayn eerwe sonder stryd ende sonder schulde.

So hwaso dat kind bifiucht jefte birawet op syn ayn eerwe, so breckt hy tyen lyoedmerck ende to jens dine frane (?) dat sint XXI schillingen: ende alle da lyoed agen him to helpen ende di frana, dat hij comme op syn ayn eerwe, deer hi eer bi riuchta aechte: hi ne se dat hio et seld hadde jef seth, jef wixled truch dera tria haudneda een, deer hio dis kyndes des lives mede hulp. Dyo forme need is: hweerso een kynd jong is finsen ende fitered noerd oer hef, jefta suther wr birgh, soe moet dio moder her kyndes eerwe setta ende sella ende her kynd lesa ende des lives bihelpa. Dyo oder need is: jef da jere diore wirdet ende di heta hunger wr dat land faert, ende dat kynd hunger stera wil, so moet dio moder her kyndes eerwe setta ende sella ende capia har bern ku ende ey ende coern, deerma da kynde des lives mede helpe. Dyo tredde need is: als dat kynd is al stocknaken jefta huusleas ende dan di tiuestere nevil ende calda winter oencomt, so faert aller manick oen syn hof ende oen syn huus ende an waranne gaten, ende da wylda dier seket dyn holla beam ende der birgha hly, aldeer hit syn lyf oen bihalda mey: sa weynet ende scryt dat onjeriga kynd ende wyst dan syn nakena lyae ende syn huusleas ende syn fader deer him reda schuld to jenst dyn hunger ende winter nevil cald dat hi so diepe ende dimme mitta flower neylen is onder eke ende onder da

eerda bisloten, ende bitacht; so moet dio moder her kyndes eerwe setta ende sella, om dat hio da bihield hadde ende biwaer also lang so hit onjerick is, dat hit oen forste ner oen hoenger naet forfare.

In English.

The other landright is: whenever the mother sells the inheritance of her child, or exchanges (it) with rede (counsel) of her friends before the child is of age; when he is of age, likes he the bargain, let him hold it, and does he not like it, let him fare (enter) on his own inheritance without strife and without debts.

Whoever fights or bereaves the child on his own ground, he forfeits ten ledemarks, and to the king's attorney the mulct is XXI schillings; and all the lede (people) ought to help him and the king's attorney that he may come to his own inheritance, which he owned before by right: unless she has sold, or set (pawned) or exchanged it through one of the three headneeds (necessities) by which helped the life of the child. The first need is: whenever a child is made prisoner and fettered northward over the sea, or southward over the mountains, the mother must set (pawn) and sell her child's inheritance, and release her child and save its life. The other need is; if the years become dear, and sharp hunger goes over the land, and the child will starve of hunger, then the mother must set and sell her child's inheritance, and buy her child's cows and ewes, and corn, wherewith the life of the child is helped. The third need is: when the child is stark-naked, or houseless, and then the dark fog and the cold winter come on, when every man fares (enters) his house and its appurtenances, and lurking-holes, and the wild deer (beasts) seek the hollow beam (tree) and the lee of the mountains, where it may save its life: then moans and weeps the minor child, and shows his naked limbs, and his being houseless, and (points at) his father, who should provide for him against hunger and the wintry fog-cold, that he so deep and dim is locked up and covered under the earth with four nails: so the mother must set and sell her child's inheritance, since she has the keeping and guarding as long as (the child) is under age, that it dies not from frost or from hunger.

The Middle Frisian.—Without determining too nicely at what exact time the *Old Frisian* stage ceases, we may take the middle of the seventeenth century (*say* A.D. 1650) as the date for the fullest development of the *Middle*; the chief classic of the

Middle Frisian literature being Gysbert (Gilbert) Japicx; not, however, without both an important forerunner and an important contemporary; Jan Janszoon Starter the forerunner, J. Althuijsen the contemporary. The following* is from G. Japicx:—

1.	1.
Swiet, ja swiet is 't, oere miete 't boaskien foar' e jonge lie;	Sweet, yes sweet is over measure The marrying for the young lede (people);
Kreftich swiet is 't, sizz' ik jiette, As it giet mei âlders rie.	Most sweet is it, I say yet, When it goes with the rede of the elders.
Mar oars tiget 'et to'n pleach, As ik oan myn geafeynt seach.	But otherwise it tends to a plague, As I saw on my village.
2.	2.
"Goune Swobke, lit uws pearje," Bea hy har mei mylde stemm. "Ofke," sei se, "ho scoe 'k it klearje!	"Golden Swobke, let us pair," He bade her with a mild voice. "Ofke," she said, "how should I clear it!
Wist du! rie to heite in mem?"	Knowest thou! rede, father and mother?"
"Ljeaf dat nim ik to myn laest." Dear mei wier de knôte faest.	"Love! I take this to my last." Therewith the knot was fast.
3.	3.
Da dit pear to gear scoe ite, In hja hiene nin gewin, Heite seach, as woe hy bite, Mem wier stjoersch in lef fen sin.	When this pair should eat together, And they had no gain, Father saw as if he would bite, Mother was stern and cross of hu- mour.
"Ofke," sei se, "elk jier in bern. Wier ik fâem! ik woe 't so jern."	"Ofke," she said, "each year a child. Were I maiden! I would it so will- ingly."
4.	4.
Hoite in Hoatske Sneins to keamer	Hoite and Hoatske every Sunday in the inn
Mekken it mei elkoarme klear. Tetke krigge Sjolle kreamer, To Sint Eal by wyn in bjear.	Made it clear with each other. Tetke got Sjolle the pedlar To St. Alof's fair unto wine and beer.
Nu rint elk om as in slet, In bekleye 't; mar to let.	Now each runs about as a slut, And complains it; but too late.

* Taken from Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (p. lxxiii). See also *Vriesche Volk's Almanak* (pp. 95-96).

5.

Oeds die better, nei ik achtje,
Da hy Saets syn trou tosei :
Hy liet de alders even plachtje,
Hwet se oan elke ich joene mei.

Nu besit hy huws in schuwr',
In syn bern fleane all' man uwr.

6.

Ork, myn Soan, wolt du bedye,
Rin naet oan allyk ien moll' !
Jeld in rie lit mei dy frye,
Bern, so gean' dyn saken wol.
Den scil de himel uwr dyn dwaen
Lok in mylde seining' jaen.

5.

Oeds did better in my opinion,
When he said his troth to Saets :
He let the elders even plight,
What they on each edge (side) gave
with.

Now he possesses house and barn,
And his children outdo all men.

6.

Ork, my Son, wouldst thou prosper,
Run not on all like a mole ;
Let age and rede woo with thee,
Child, then thy affairs go well ;
Then the heaven shall give over
thy doings,
Luck and mild blessings.

The *New* or *Modern* Frisian has been illustrated by the specimens with which we began the chapter.

§ 62. Attention was directed to the forms *drieuwe* and *drijven* in the first extract.

The Frisian of Friesland, &c., in its very oldest stage, forms its infinitive mood, as well as certain cases, in *-a*.

The Dutch of Holland, in its very newest stage, forms its infinitive mood, as well as certain cases, in *-en*.

Now the form in *-en* has not grown out of that in *-a*. On the contrary, the tendencies to change are in the other direction.

Such being the case, it cannot be said that the Modern Dutch is derived from the Old Frisian, or that the Old bears the same relation to the Modern Dutch that the Anglo-Saxon does to the English.

The truer view is—

1. That two closely-allied forms of speech were once spoken in Holland and Friesland.

2. That from the Northern of these we have the Modern Frisian of Friesland.

3. From the Southern, the Modern Dutch of Holland.

Old Frisian grammar compared with Anglo-Saxon.—We begin with—

The Transition of Letters.

á in Frisian corresponds to *ea* in A. S.; as *dád, rád, lás, strám, bám, cáp, áre, háp*, Frisian; *deád, reád, leás, streám, beám, ceáp, eáre, heáp*, Saxon; *dead, red, loose, stream, tree* (boom), *bargain* (cheap, chapman), *ear, heap*, English.

é in Frisian corresponds to ^{a)} the A. S. *á*; as *Eth, téken, hél, bréd*, Fris.; *áp, tácen, hál, brád*, Saxon; *oath, token, hale, broad*, English;—^{b)} to A. S. *æ*; *hér, déde, bréda*, Frisian; Fris. *hær, dæd, brædan*, A. S.; *hair, deed, roast*, English.

e to *ea* and *æ* A. S.—Frisian *thet*, A. S. *þæt*, Engl. *that*. Fris. *gers*, A. S. *gærs*, Engl. *grass*.—Also to *eo*; *prestere*, Fr.; *preost* A. S., *priest* Engl.; *berch* Fr., *beorh* A. S.; *hill* (*berg*, as in *iceberg*) Engl.; *melok* Fr., *meoloc* A. S., *milk* Engl.

i to *eo* A. S.—Fr., *irthe*, A. S. *eorðe*; Fris. *hirte*; A. S. *heorte*; Fris. *fir*, A. S. *feor* = in English *earth, heart, far*. *já* = *eo* A. S.; as *bjáda, beódan, bid—thet fjárde, feorðe, the fourth—sják, seóc, sick*.

ju = *y* or A. S.; *rjucht, ryth, right—frjund, freond, friend*. *Dz* = A. S. *c g*; Fr. *sedza, lidzja*; A. S. *secgan, licgan*; Engl. *to say, to lie*.

Tz, ts, sz, sth = A. S. *c* or *ce*; as *szereke, or sthereke*, Frisian; *cyrice* A. S., *church* Engl.; *czetel* Fr., *cytel* A. S., *kettle* English.

ch Fr. = *h* A. S., as *thjach* Fr., *þeóh* A. S., *thigh*, Engl.—*berch, beórh, hill* (berg)—*dochter, dohtor, daughter, &c.*

As a general statement we may say, that in the transition of letters the Frisian corresponds with the A. S. more closely than it does with any other language. It must, moreover, be remarked, that, in such pairs of words as *frjund* and *freond*, the difference (as far at least as the *e* and *j* are concerned) is a mere difference of orthography. Such also is probably the case with the words *déd* and *dæd*, and many others.

The Anglo-Saxon inflection of ^{a)} Substantives ending in a vowel, ^{b)} substantives ending in a consonant, ^{c)} Adjectives with an indefinite ^{d)} Adjectives with a definite sense, ^{e)} Verbs

Active ^f) and verbs auxiliar, may be seen in the comparison between the A. S. and the Icelandic. The corresponding inflections in Frisian are as follows:—

(a.)

Substantives ending in a vowel.

	<i>Neuter.</i>	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Nom.</i> 'Are (<i>an ear</i>)	Campa (<i>a champion</i>)	Tunge (<i>a tongue</i>).
	<i>Acc.</i> 'Are	Campa	Tunga.
	<i>Dat.</i> 'Ara	Campa	Tunga.
	<i>Gen.</i> 'Ará	Campa	Tunga.
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Nom.</i> 'Ara	Campa	Tunga.
	<i>Acc.</i> 'Ara	Campa	Tunga.
	<i>Dat.</i> 'Aron	Campon	Tungon.
	<i>Gen.</i> 'Arona	Campona	Tungona.

(b.)

Substantives ending in a consonant.

	<i>Neuter.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Nom.</i> Skip (<i>a ship</i>)	Hond (<i>a hand</i>).
	<i>Acc.</i> Skip	Hond.
	<i>Dat.</i> Skipe	Hond.
	<i>Gen.</i> Skipis	Honde.
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Nom.</i> Skipu	Honda.
	<i>Acc.</i> Skipu	Honda.
	<i>Dat.</i> Skipum	Hondum (-on).
	<i>Gen.</i> Skipa	Honda.

With respect to the masculine substantives terminating in a consonant, it must be observed that in A. S. there are two modes of declension; in one, the plural ends in -s; in the other in -a. From the former the Frisian differs; with the second it has a close alliance; *e.g.*:—

	<i>Saxon.</i>	<i>Frisian.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Nom.</i> Sunu (<i>a son</i>)	Sunu.
	<i>Acc.</i> Sunu	Sunu.
	<i>Dat.</i> Suna	Suna.
	<i>Gen.</i> Suna	Suna.

	<i>Saxon.</i>	<i>Frisian.</i>
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Suna	Suna.
<i>Acc.</i>	Suna	Suna.
<i>Dat.</i>	Sunum	Sunum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Sunena	(Sunena).

(c.)

Indefinite Declension of Adjectives.

	<i>Neuter.</i>	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Gód	Gód	Gód.
<i>Acc.</i>	Gód	Gódene	Góde.
<i>Dat.</i>	Góda (-um)	Goda (-um)	Gódere.
<i>Gen.</i>	Gódes	Gódes	Gódere.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Góde	Góde	Góde.
<i>Acc.</i>	Góde	Góde	Góde.
<i>Dat.</i>	Gódum (-a)	Gódum (-a)	Gódum (-a).
<i>Gen.</i>	Gódera	Gódera	Godera.

(d.)

Definite.

	<i>Neuter.</i>	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Góde	Góda	Góde.
<i>Acc.</i>	Góde	Góda	Góda.*
<i>Dat.</i>	Góda*	Góda*	Góda.*
<i>Gen.</i>	Góda*	Góda*	Góda.*
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Góda*	Góda*	Góda.*
<i>Acc.</i>	Góda*	Góda*	Góda.*
<i>Dat.</i>	Góda (-on)	Góda (-on)	Góda (-on).
<i>Gen.</i>	Góda (-ona)	Goda (-ona)	Goda (-ona).

(e.)

*The Persons of the Present Tense.**Indicative Mood.*

<i>Sing.</i>	1. Berne	<i>I burn.</i>
	2. Bernst	<i>Thou burnest.</i>
	3. Bernth	<i>He burns.</i>

* In A. S. all these forms would end in -n ; as *godan*.

<i>Plur.</i>	1. Bernath	<i>We burn.</i>
	2. Bernath	<i>Ye burn.</i>
	3. Bernath	<i>They burn.</i>

In the inflection of the verbs there is between the Frisian and A. S. this important difference. In A. S. the infinitive ends in *-an*, as *macian*, to make, *læran*, to learn, *bærnan*, to burn; whilst in Frisian it ends in *-a*, as *maka*, *léra*, *berna*.

(f.)

*The Auxiliar Verb Wesa, To Be.**Indicative.*

	<i>Present.</i>		<i>Past.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	1. Ik ben		1. Ik
	2. ?		2. Thú
	3. Hi is		3. Hi
<i>Plur.</i>	1. Wi	} Send	1. Wi
	2. I		2. I
	3. Hja		3. Hja
			1. Ik
			2. Thú
			3. Hi
			1. Wi
			2. I
			3. Hja

Subjunctive.

	<i>Present.</i>		<i>Past.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	1. 2. 3. Se		1. 2. 3. Wére.
<i>Plur.</i>	1. 2. 3. Se		1. 2. 3. Wére.
<i>Infin.</i>	Wesa.	<i>Pr. Part.</i> Wesande.	<i>Past Part.</i> E-wesen.

The Frisian numerals (to be compared with those of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 43) are as fellows:—*E'n*, *twá*, *thryjú*, *fjúwer*, *fif*, *sex*, *sjúgun*, *achta*, *njugun*, *tian*, &c. Of these the first three take an inflection, e. g. *en*, like *gode* and the adjectives, has both a definite and an indefinite form, *en*, and *thet ene*; whilst *twa* and *thryjú* run as follows:—*Nom.* and *Acc. Neut.* *twa*; *Masc.* *twene*; *Fem.* *twa*; *Dat.* *twam*; *Gen.* *twira*; *Nom.* and *Acc. Neut.* *thryju*; *Masc.* *thre*; *Fem.* *thryja*; *Dat.* *thrim*; *Gen.* *thryra*.

In respect to the Pronouns, there is in the Old Frisian of *Dutch Friesland* no dual number (the *North Frisian* has one), as there is in Anglo-Saxon. On the other hand, however, the Frisians (whilst they have no such form as *his*) possess,

like the Icelandic, the inflected adjectival pronoun *sin*, corresponding to the Latin *suus*: whilst, like the Anglo-Saxons, and unlike the Icelanders, they have nothing to correspond with the Latin *se*.

In Frisian there is between the demonstrative pronoun used as an article, and the same word used as a demonstrative in the limited sense of the term, the following difference of declension:—

THE ARTICLE.

	<i>Neuter.</i>	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Nom.</i> Thet	Thi	Thjú.
	<i>Acc.</i> Thet	Thene	Thá.
	<i>Dat.</i>	Thá	There.
	<i>Gen.</i>	Thes	There.
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Nom.</i>	Thá.	
	<i>Acc.</i>	Thá.	
	<i>Dat.</i>	Thá.	
	<i>Gen.</i>	Théra.	

PRONOUN.

The demonstrative in the limited sense of the word.

	<i>Neuter.</i>	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Nom.</i> Thet	Thi	se.
	<i>Acc.</i> Thet	Thene	se.
	<i>Dat.</i>	Tham	There.
	<i>Gen.</i>	Thes	There.
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Nom.</i>		Se.
	<i>Acc.</i>		Se.
	<i>Dat.</i>		Thám.
	<i>Gen.</i>		Théra.

The Saxons draw no such a distinction. With them the article and demonstrative is declined as follows:—

		Neuter.	Masculine.	Feminine.
Sing.	Nom.	þæt	se	seo.
	Acc.	þæt	þone	þá.
	Dat.		þam	þæ're.
Sing.	Gen.		þæs	þæ're.
Plur.	Nom.		þá.	
	Acc.		þá.	
	Dat.		þám.	
	Gen.		þára.	

§ 63. *Specimen of Glossarial affinity.*—Taken from Rask's Preface to his Frisian Grammar:—

Frisian.	Anglo-Saxon.	English.
'Age	Eáge	Eye.
Háved	Heáfod	Head.
Kind	Cild	Child.
Erva	Eafora	Heir.
Drochten	Drihten	Lord.
Nacht	Niht	Night.
Réd	Ræ'd	Council (Rede).
Déde	Dæ'd	Deed.
Nose	Nasu	Nose.
'Ein	Agen	Own.
Kápie	Ceapige	I buy (Chapman).
Dua	Don	To do.
Slá	Sleán	Slay.
Gunga	Gangan	Go (Gang).

CHAPTER XI.

GERMAN ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. — PART OF GERMANY FROM WHICH IT WAS INTRODUCED.—POINTS OF INTERNAL EVIDENCE.—LOCAL NAMES.

§ 64. As a general rule, the Angle names for geographical localities are compound words; compounds after the usual fashion of the English language; compounds wherein the element of the wider and more general signification comes *last*. In other words we have, in such names as *Stán-tún*, or *Sand-wíc*, the *town* characterised, defined, or particularised by the presence of *stones*, or the *wíc* characterised, defined, or particularised by the presence of *sand*. The nature of these second elements, although more or less varied, is still pretty constant. We often have the name of some natural feature of the country—a *hill*, a *stream*, a *ford*: often, too, the name of some artificial construction—*town*, *borough*, *ham*, *thorp*. This is nothing more than what we expect *à priori* from the nature of the subject.

§ 65. For studying these in their modern forms, a map of England, along with one of Northern Germany, is sufficient. For the local names of the Anglo-Saxon period, the great repertorium is the “Codex Diplomaticus” of Mr. Kemble. To this may be added a treatise on the “Local Nomenclature of the Anglo-Saxon” by Professor Leo, of Halle.

It is from the preface to the third volume of the Codex that the following list of those Anglo-Saxon words which enter into the composition of local names is taken.

Æsc, A. S.; *ash*, English. This tree is often mentioned in the boundaries of charters.

Bæc, A. S.; *beck*, English. It is the High German *bach*, and is a word of some importance. At present, it is found so much more in the northern than in the southern parts of

Britain, and it is so much commoner in the Norse than in the proper German parts of the Continent, that it has somewhat hastily been considered a Danish rather than an Angle element.

Botl, A. S.; *bottle*, English—as in *Harbottle*. It means *dwelling-place, building*. In Germany we find it in *Wolfenbüttel*, &c. It is particularly common in the western half of the Duchy of Holstein—*i. e.* in Ditmarsh.

Beorh, A. S.; *-berg*, English = *hill*.

Bróc, A. S.; *-brook*, English—*Spell-brook*, &c.

Brycg, A. S.; *-bridge*, English—*Wey-bridge*, &c.

Buruh, *Burh*, A. S.; *borough*, *burgh*, *bury*, English.

Clif, A. S.; *cliff*, English.

Cot, A. S.; *cot*, *cottage*, English.

Croft, A. S.; *croft*, English.—*Wudu-croft*, A. S.; *Wood-croft*, English.

Díc, A. S.; *dike*, *ditch*, English.

Ea, A. S. = *river*, *stream*.

Eg, *Ig*, A. S. = *island*; as in *Ceortes-ig* = *Cherts ey*.

Ecg, A. S.; *edge*, English.

Feld, A. S. Form for form, this is the English *field*. In A. S., however, it meant an open tract of land rather than an enclosure, as with us.

Fen, A. S. = *fen*, English.

Fleot, A. S.; *fleet* (as in the *Fleet Ditch*, or the river *Fleet*), in English. “Sometimes used alone, as the *Fleet* at Thorpe, near Chertsey, in Surrey; but generally, in composition, as *Byfleet*.”—Kemble.

Ford, A. S.; *ford*, English. This is important. Word for word, it is the same as the Danish *Fiord*; a substantive which also has a place amongst the elements of the English compounds.

The confusion that this double form has a tendency to engender may be avoided by remembering that the Saxon *-fords*, lie inland, and are simply what the English word *ford* is, viz. the names of those parts of our rivers and streams which can be forded, *i. e.* walked over in the water. The Danish (Norse) *f-rd*, on the other hand, means an *arm of the sea*. Consequently, it occurs on the coast rather than in the parts inland. Its form varies; in Scotland becoming

Firth (*Frith*), as *Firth of Tay*. In Ireland it occurs in the compounds *Strang-ford*, *Carling-ford*, &c. The term *Firth of Forth* is remarkable. Both forms—the one in *-irth* and the one in *-orth*—come from Norse *F-rd*. They are, however, differentiated in the form; one meaning the *river*, which is more or less of an æstuary throughout; the other meaning the more special portion of its outlet. Roughly speaking, when *F-rd* = *vadum* it is Angle and German, when = *æstuarium* it is Danish, Norse, or Scandinavian. The application of this will appear in the sequel.

Gráf, A. S.; *grove*, English.

Hæg, A. S.; *hedge*, English.

Ham, A. S. 'This is the *-ham* in words like *Notting-ham*, *Threeking-ham*, &c.

Hangra, A. S.; *-anger*, English, as in *Birch-anger*, *Pensh-anger* = a *meadow* or *grassplat*, usually by the side of the road.

Hlaw, A. S.—a *rising ground*. This is the *-law* so frequent in Scotland, as applied to hills, *e. g.* *Berwick-law*, &c.

Hol, A. S.; *-hole*, English.

Holt, A. S.; *-holt*, English = a *wood*.

Hrycg, A. S.; *ridge*, English.

Hyrne, A. S. = *corner*, *angle*. This word is, to a certain degree, in the same category with *-beck*. It is Danish as well as Saxon, and from being found in the more Danish parts of Britain, has passed for an *exclusively* Danish word—which it is not.

Hyrst, A. S.; *-hurst*, English = *copse* or *wood*. This is one of the most characteristic words of the list, as may be seen from the inspection of any map of Northern Germany.

Hyð, A. S.; *-hithe*, English = "a place that receives the ship on its landing; a low shore, fit to be a landing-place for boats."

Lád, A. S.; *lode*, English. "In the fen countries, this denotes not only a water-channel, but the raised banks on each side."

Land, A. S. and English.

Lane, A. S. and English.

Leah, A. S.; *lea*, English. The usual form this word takes in English compounds is *-ley*, as *Baddow-ley*, *Mading-ley*.

Mæd, A. S.; *mead* (*meadow*), English.

Meane, A. S.; *mark* = *boundary*, English.

Mere, A. S. and English—*Whittlesea-Mere*.

Mersc, A. S.; *marsh*, English.

Mór, A. S.; *moor*, English.

Mós, A. S.; *moss*, English; as in *Chat-mos*, where *mos* = *moor* or *swamp*, i. e. a locality where *mosses* grow abundantly rather than the *moss* itself.

Myln, A. S.; *mill*, English, "generally, but not exclusively, watermills."

Næs, A. S.; *ness* (or *naze*), English—*Shoebury-ness*, *Walton-on-the-Naze*—Scandinavian as well as German. Indeed, it is more or less Slavonic and Latin as well—*Noss* and *Nas-us*.

Ofer, A. S. = *shore*.

Pæð, A. S.; *path*, English.

Pól, A. S.; *pool*, English.

Pyt, A. S.; *pit*, English.

Ræ'we, A. S.; *row*, English.

Seta, A. S. = *settlement*—*Somer-set*, *Dor-set*.

Slæ'd, a "low, flat, marshy ground."

Slóþ, A. S.; *slough*, English.

Snæ'd, A. S. = *a portion or piece cut off*—*Whip-snade*.

Stán, A. S.; *stone*, English—*Whet-stone*, &c.

Steal, A. S.; *stall*, English—*Heppen-stall*.

Stede, A. S. = *place* = the *-stead* in words like *Hampstead*, &c.

Stow, A. S. = *place*—*Stow*, *Wit-stow*.

Tóft, A. S. = *toft*, as in *Wig-toft*, English.

Tún, A. S. = *-ton*, English—*Nor-ton*, *Sut-ton* = *North-town*, *South-town*, &c.

Weald, A. S. and English.

Weg, A. S.; *-way*, English—*Strang-way*.

Were, A. S.; *-weir*, English.

Wíc, A. S.; *wi k*, *wich*, English—*Wick*, *Aln-wick*, *Green-wich*.

Worðig, A. S. = the *-worth* in *Tam-worth*, *Box-worth*.

Wudu, A. S.; *-wood*, English—*Sel-wood*, *Wich-wood*, &c.

Wyl, A. S.; *-well*, English—*Ash-well*, *Am-well*, &c.

þorp, A. S.; *-thorp*, English—*Maple-thorp*, *Addle-thorp*, &c.

§ 66. As a general rule (as aforesaid), the Angle (and English) names for localities are compound words, of which the latter element is the more general. This is determined or limited by the former. Nearly all the words of the preceding list belong to the *second* part of the compound in which they occur.

The *prefixes* (of less importance) can be well studied in Dr. Leo's work. Sometimes they are believed to represent the names of mythical or semi-mythical personages, *e.g.* the gods *Tiw*, *Woden*, *Thor*, and *Sæter*, appear in such names as *Tews-ley*, *Wan-borough* (*Wodnes-burg*), *Thurs-ley*, *Satter-thwaithe*, just as truly as in the days of the week—*Tues-day*, *Wedn-esday*, *Thurs-day*, *Satur-day*. Again, in words like *Offan-dic* and *Credian-tun*, we have the *dike* of King Offa, and the town of *Cridda*—real or fictitious sovereigns. *Oxford*, *Hazel-hurst*, *Sand-hurst*, give us names taken from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms.

§ 67. The application of the criticism which the nature and analysis of the *local* names of the English language suggests, will find place when the closely-allied question of *personal* names has been noticed. Meanwhile a point or two may be foreshadowed. Thus—

In investigating the distribution of similar local names, the physical features of the county must alway be borne in mind. We cannot expect the nomenclature of a mountainous county in a fen; or *vice versâ*.

Some of the local terms are common to England and to the whole of Germany; when this is the case, we must look minutely to the differences of form.

Others are peculiar to Great Britain. This is the case with the numerous forms in *-den* (such as *Gad-s-den*, &c.), so common in many counties, and so particularly common in Kent. The element *-ton* (in A. S. *-tún*), as in *New-ton*, *Sut-ton*, is eminently English.

Hence those names that are neither too general nor too exclusive help us the most.

It has been indicated that the *form* is a matter of importance. It is so. The element *-ham* (as in Threcking-*ham*) is found all over Germany; but it is not found in the same shape. In one part it is *-heim*, as in Oppen-*heim*; in another *-hem*, as in Arn-*hem*; in a third *-um*, as in Hus-*um*. The re-appearance of a particular element is one thing; the form in which it re-appears is another.

CHAPTER XII.

GERMAN ORIGIN, ETC.—PART OF GERMANY, ETC.—POINTS OF INTERNAL EVIDENCE.—PERSONAL NAMES.—LAWS, CUSTOMS, SUPERSTITIONS, ETC.

§ 68. As a general rule the Anglo-Saxon personal names are compound words.

If the principle and details of these compounds ran exactly parallel with the principle and details upon which the names of the Anglo-Saxon geographical localities of the preceding chapter were constructed, the question as to their development and signification would be easy. In such a name as *Alf-red*, or *Ed-ward*, we should have the exact analogues of such words as *Stán-tun*, or *Sand-wíc*; wherein the elements *-red* and *-ward* would be the names for some class of men invested with certain personal attributes (say *councillor*, or *warden*), and *Alf-* and *Ed-* would be qualifying nouns which told us what sort of *warden* or *councillor* the particular one under notice might be. They might mean *wise*, or *lucky*, or aught else. In such a case, the name would be one like *Wise-man*, *Good-fellow*, or some similar compound of the nineteenth century—all this being nothing more than what we expect *à priori* from the nature of the subject.

Now I do not say that this is not the case, and I also add that many good writers treat the whole subject of the Anglo-Saxon personal names as if it were so. At the same time, I deny that the names of the men and women who were our early ancestors come out in their analysis and explanation half as clear as do those of our early towns, villages, rivers, and mountains. This will become manifest as we proceed.

As the list of the preceding chapter was taken from Mr. Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, the examples of the present are from a paper by the same distinguished author *On the*

Names, Surnames, and Nic-Names of the Anglo-Saxons, published in the *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute for 1845*.

Sometimes the name consists of a substantive preceded by an adjective, as *Æðel-stán* = *Noble-stone*. Without asking how it comes that a *man* gets to be called a *stone*, we may see at once that the *combination* itself is an eminently intelligible one. It is just such a one as *Wise-man* or *Good-fellow* (the instances already adduced), where the juxtaposition and nature of the two elements is transparently clear. They may not always give us a name of which we can see the origin, but they always give one of which we can see the principle.

Sometimes the name consists of a substantive preceded by a substantive; a substantive which in this case is, more or less, adjectival in character—*e.g.* *Wulf-helm* (*Wolf-helm*). This only differs from words like *Æðel-stán* in the way that such a compound as *Lock-smith* differs from *Black-smith*.

Sometimes the name consists of an adjective preceded by a substantive, as *Wulf-heáh* (*Wolf-high*). Here begin difficulties. If we were at liberty to translate this the *high wolf*, the meaning would be intelligible, though the origin of the name might be inexplicable. But *Wulf-heáh* (if it mean anything) means *as high as a wolf*. Now a *wolf* is not an ordinary standard of measurement.

Sometimes the name consists of two adjectives, or (to repeat the previous formula) of an adjective preceded by an adjective, as *Æðel-heáh* (*Noble-high*). The English parallels to this are combinations like *light blue*, *deep green*. Now these are not compounds, but pairs of separate words, as is stated at large in the chapter on Composition.

Again, the first element in pairs of words like *light blue*, &c., qualifies or defines the second in a manner which (to say the least) is doubtful in such compounds as *Æðel-heáh*. They suggest the notion not only of their contrary, but of that contrary being as common an element of compound ideas as they are themselves. Thus a *light blue* supposes a *deep blue*, and a *deep green* a *light* (or a *pale*) green. Hence, then, a correlation (so to say) in their qualifying, distinctive, or defining functions.

Now it is doubtful whether this be the case with such words as *Æthel-heáh*. It is *very* doubtful whether they suggested the idea of *Ignoble Height*, as their opposite. It is more probable that, so far as they meant anything at all, they meant *Noble-and-high*; so expressing two qualifications in juxtaposition rather than any particular kind of any single one.

Without saying how far these difficulties are great or small, important or unimportant, I limit myself to the statement that they are of far more frequent occurrence amongst the personal names of the Anglo-Saxons and their allied populations, than they are amongst the local ones. Hence the facts of the present chapter are of less value as instruments of criticism than those of the preceding one—at least in the present state of philological criticism.

§ 69. In the Anglo-Saxon personal, as in the Anglo-Saxon local, names, the latter of the two elements is the more important. Of these the following are the chief; the list and classification being Mr. Kemble's:—

MALE.

Substantives: -bearn, -beorn, -gâr, -geld, -gist, -helm, -hûn, -here, -lâc, -man, -môd, -mund, -rod, -sige, -stan, -weald, -weard, -wig, -wine, -ðegn—as in *Ed-gar*, *Beorht-helm*, *Ead-mund*, &c.

Adjectives: -beald, -beorht, -fus, -heâh, -ric, -heard, -nôð.

FEMALE.

Substantives: -buhr, -hâd, -gyfu, -læd, -hild, -rûn, -waru, -wên, -ðryð.

Adjective: -swið.

Some of these may begin as well as end a name. Others, on the contrary, are either exclusively initial, or exclusively final.

Exclusively initial: Eâd-, Os-, Beado-, Heaðo-, Cyne-, Eormen-, Eorcen-.

Exclusively final: -gyfu, -waru, -ðegn.

§ 70. As a general rule (as aforesaid) the Angle (and English) personal names are compounds. It has also been

said, that, of these compounds the latter, or *final*, element claims our chief consideration. The initial syllables are, however, not without interest, as may be seen from the following extract: — “The Anglo-Saxon proper names have also very frequently a law of recurrence. It shows itself in the continued repetition of the first part of the compound in the names borne by members of the same family. Endless is the number of *Æthel*-helms, *Æðel*-bealds, *Æthel*-ðryðs, and *Æthel*-stâns. In one family we shall find in succession, or simultaneously, *Wig*-mund, *Wig*-helm, *Wig*-lâf, *Wih*-stân, or *Beorn*-ric, *Beorn*-môd, *Beorn*-heâh, *Beorn*-helm. A few examples drawn from history will make this abundantly clear.

“*Eormen*-ric was the father of *Æthel*-berht, the first Christian king of Kent; *Æthel*-bert's son *Eâd*-bald had issue two sons, *Eorcen*-berht and *Eormen*-ræd. Of *Eormen*-ræd's six children, three have their names compounded with *Eormen*-, three with *Æðel*-; thus, *Eormen*-burh, *Eormen*-berg, *Eormen*-gyð, *Eðel*-ðryð, *Æðel*-ræd, *Æthel*-beorht. *Eorcen*-berht's daughters were *Eorcen*-gote and *Eormen*-hild.

“Of the seven sons of *Æðelfrið*, king of Northumberland, five bore names with *Os*-, thus, *Os*-laf, *Os*-lâc, *Os*-wald, *Os*-win, *Os*-widu. In the successions of the same royal family we find the male names *Os*-frið, *Os*-wine, *Os*-ric, *Os*-ræd, *Os*-wulf, *Os*-bald, and *Os*-beorht, and the female name *Os*-ðryð, and some of these are repeated several times.

“Saint *Wig*-stan was the son of *Wig*-mund the son of *Wig*-lâf, king of Mercia; and the sons of *Æthel*-wine, Duke of East Anglia, were *Eðel*-wine, *Æthel*-wold, *Ælf*-wold, and *Æthel*-sige. His grandson again was *Æðel*-wine.

“Lastly, *Ælfred*'s son, *Eâd*-weard, married *Eâd*-gfu; their children were *Eâd*-wine, *Eâd*-mund, *Eâd*-red, and *Eâd*-burh. *Eâd*-mund's children, again, were *Eâd*-wig and *Eâd*-gâr. *Eâd*-gar had children, *Eâd*-weard, *Eâd*-gyð, and *Eâd*-weard. His son *Eâd*-mund, again, had two sons, *Eâd*-mund and *Eâd*-gâr.”—*Kemble, in Transactions, &c.*

In our fourth chapter this fact has been partially anticipated. In the same chapter, too, may be seen the extent to which it differs from the ordinary alliteration of the Angle metres. However necessarily it may follow that words beginning with

the same syllable shall also begin with the same letter, there is a broad difference between the two principles. It is one thing for so many words to begin with the same initial, another for so many compounds to be formed out of the same elements. If the latter carry with it the former, it is only in a secondary manner,

§ 71. *Forms in -ing*.—The same chapter, with its so-called pedigrees, is referred to for instances of the affix *-ing*. It has the same power as the *-idns* in the Greek Patronymics, so that Eâdgar-*ing* means the *son of Edgar*, and Eâdberht Eadgar-*ing*, *Eadbert the son of Edgar—Edbert Edgarson*.

Compounds of sunu = son.—Could such a word as *Edgarson* (allowing for a difference of form) occur in the Angle stage of the English language? Assuredly, it is common enough in the English stage of the Angle, *i. e.* in the language of the nineteenth century;—so it has been for some time.

Now the paper which has already supplied so much gives us the following extract:—"Ministro qui Leófwine nomine et Bondan *sunu* appellatur cognomine." (No. 1739.)

Hence our answer is in the affirmative, it being safe to say that in the Angle stage of our language the method of signifying descent by the affix of the patronymic *-ing* was *not* the only one. Over and above, there was the use of the word *sunu = son*.

Why, however, was the question asked? Because common as are the compounds of *son* in English they were rare in Angle. Again, common as were the forms in *-ing* in Angle, they are rare in English.

This is a reason, but it is only one out of two.

§ 72. The other is the weightier one.

a. The forms in *-son* are not only rare in Angle, but they are rare in all the *Proper* German dialects; and—

b. They are not only *rare* in all the *Proper* German dialects (the Angle included), but they are extremely *common* in the Danish, Norse, and Swedish, *i. e.* in all the languages of the Scandinavian branch.

The inference from this can hardly fail to be drawn, *viz.* that all the numerous *Ander-sons*, *Thomp-sons*, *John-sons*,

Nel-sons, &c., of England, are, more or less Danish, as opposed to Angle.

Now, as the previous extract stands, it invalidates this inference.

But it should be added that it comes from a charter of the *Danish* King, Cnut's (A.D. 1023). So doing, it leaves the original inference as it was.

Hence I have limited myself to saying that the use of the word *son* (*sunu*) occurs during the Angle stage of the English language. I do not say that it occurs in the pure and unmodified language of the Angles.

The Latin extract is from the beginning of the Charter. At the end of it we find the same combination in Anglo-Saxon: "Ðis is ðára VII. hida bók tó Hanitúne ðe Cnut Ang. gebócode *Leófwine Bondan sunu* on éce yrfæ."—"This is the book (deed) of the seven hydes at Hannington, which Cnut, the king, granted to Leofwine Bondeson for a heritage for ever."

§ 73. The application of the criticism which the structure and analysis of the personal names in the English language supply, will find its place along with that which arises out of the structure and analysis of the local names.

It will not, however, give equal results; this being what we are prepared to expect from the remarks that have been made on the unsatisfactory character of some of the compound appellations under notice.

Nor is this all. Other circumstances impede the free use of even our best lists as instruments of philological criticism.

a. Sometimes the full compound is abbreviated, as truly as *Thom-as* is abbreviated into *Tom*; *e.g.* "quare non et nobis porrigis panem nitidum, quem et patri nostro *Saba*," (sic namque illum appellare consuerant,) "dabas"?—*Beda, Ecc. Hist.* ii. 5. The evidence that this *Saba's* full name was *Sæbeorht* is found in the same chapter.

b. Sometimes the form is like that of an abbreviation, without there being any evidence of its actually being one; *e.g.* *Becca, Beonna, Ucca*, and the prominent and often-mentioned one of *Beda*.

c. Sometimes it is doubtful whether the name be truly

Angle, or even German, in the wider and generic sense of the word. Few names, in this respect, have been more discussed than that of one *Coifi*. When Christianity was making its way into Northumberland, no one was more active in breaking up the old pagan idols than an active and energetic priest so designated. "But the name," say some critics, "is a strange one. Is it so certainly an Angle, or Anglo-Saxon one, as it seems? May it not have been British, and, if so, the name of some Christian Briton; nay possibly, of some converted Druid?"—"No," says Mr. Kemble (though not exactly in these words), "it is only the West-Saxon word *Cēfi*, or *Cēfig*, in a Northumbrian form, just as *Cēnræd* in Hampshire becomes *Coinræd* in Durham. It is a derivative from the adjective *cōf*=*strenuus*." The present writer says nothing; he merely quotes the name as an illustration,—firstly, of one of the bearings of the line of criticism involved in the discussion; and, secondly, of the difficulties that attend the investigation.

d. To those that more especially arise out of the possibility of Angle names being taken for British, and *vice versâ*, he draws particular attention. That a certain *Cædwealha*, although the son of a father with so Angle a name as *Cēnberht*, bore a *British* name is suggested by Mr. Kemble, who, adding that his brother was named *Múl*, infers that the mother was a Briton. Now the British-sounding name *Cædwealha* brings in that of *Cad-wallader*, who (we are told) was the son of *Cad-wallon*, who was the son of *Cad-wal*. What is this but a *fac-simile*, in Keltic Britain, of the process that in Angle England gave us the *Æthel-wulfs*, *Æthel-stans*, and a long line of similar compounds of *Æthel*-, and some varying affix, of *Æthel* + *x* (so to say)? Yet the process is too peculiar to be considered as one common to tongues so different as the Angle and British. Nor is it very likely that the one would borrow it from the other. In my eyes the fact of such compounds repeating themselves to the extent to which they are said to do is suspicious;—suspicious from the very fact before us. It cannot well be valid for both the Britons and the Angles; what, then, is the explanation of it?

§ 74. Can the forms in question be despatched to that realm

of *eponymies*, *alliterational pedigrees*, and events in *eight-year cycles*, to a notice of which a great part of our fourth chapter has been devoted? Not altogether. The fact that, with one exception, all the kings between Ecbert and Cnut bear names beginning with either *Æthel-*, or *Ead-*, is against this summary mode of dispensation.

The historical succession of such a series of kings as *Æthel-wulf*, *Æthel-bald*, *Æthel-bert*, *Æthel-ræd*, *Ælf-ræd* (the only exception), *Ead-ward*, *Æthel-stan*, *Ead-mund*, *Ead-red*, *Ead-wig*, *Ead-gar*, *Ead-weard*, *Æthel-ræd*, *Ead-mund*, forbids it. Nevertheless I hold that a large percentage of the individuals belonging to the majority of these peculiarly-formed pedigrees are fictitious, and inventions of the genealogists.

The alliterational character of the early German poetry has been noticed. This made it a metrical necessity that certain names should begin with the same letter. To proceed from one similar initial to two, and from two to a whole syllable, is by no means an improbable step; and such a step I believe to have been actually made.

Should the reader take the pains to analyse the numerous royal pedigrees which form a sort of appendix to each volume of Lappenberg's *England under the Anglo-Saxon kings*, he will find that the best-authenticated genealogies have the fewest of such recurrences; that Beda, Asser, and the Chronicle are referred to far seldomer than such subsequent writers as Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, and the author of *Flores Genealogici*; and that, with the exception of the lists in *Æthel-* and *Ead-*, none come lower than the end of the seventh century. Lastly, in more than one unequivocally fictitious and transparently impossible genealogy the same phenomenon presents itself; *e. g.*—

From the A. S. Chronicle,

A.D. 855.

Finn.

Frithu-wulf.

Frea-laf.

Frithu-wald.

From Snorro's Edda.

Lo-ride.

Hen-ride.

Vinge-thor.

Vinge-ner.

The objection may be made plainer by the following extract.

It is from the Genealogy of the Kings of Kent (*Vol. i. p. 285.*)

It gives the descendants of Eormenric.

The names that show the recurrence of the same initial are marked with *l*, *p* or *h*.

Of these—

The first (*l*) means that the name to which it is appended is found in no author anterior to the Norman Conquest. It means *late* (*too late* for historical purposes) or *legendary*.

The second (*p*) means that the date of the name to which it is appended belongs to the *Pagan* period—a period too early for authentic history.

The third (*h*) stands for *historical*, and means that Beda, the Chronicle, or something approaching the nature of historical testimony, guarantees the existence of the individual whom it represents.

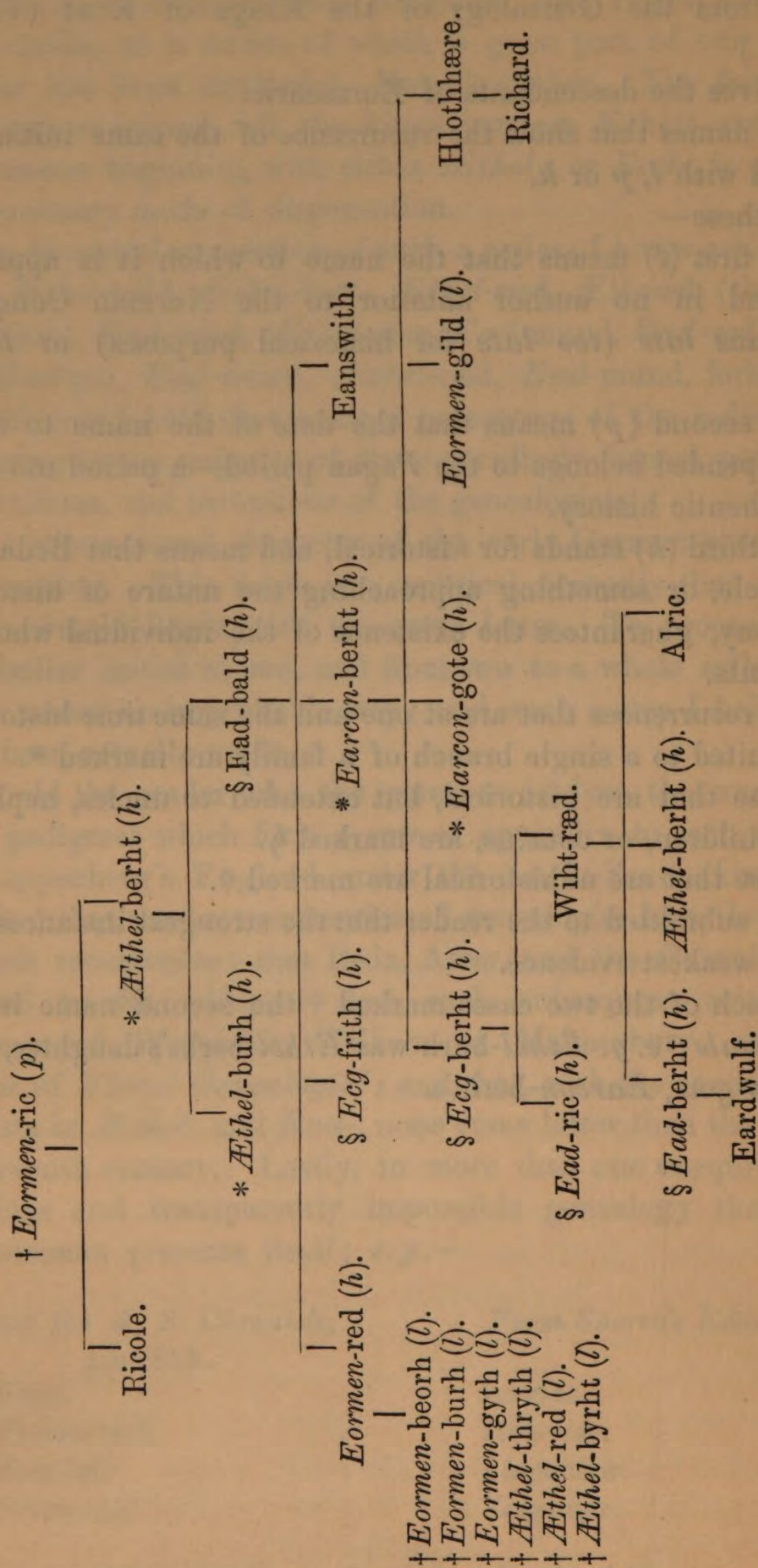
The recurrences that are at one and the same time historical, and limited to a single branch of a family are marked *.

Those that are historical, but extended to uncles, nephews, grandchildren, or cousins, are marked §.

Those that are unhistorical are marked †.

It is submitted to the reader that the strongest instances rest on the weakest evidence.

In each of the two cases marked * the second name is that of a *female*; *e. g.* *Ethel-burh* was *Ethel-berht's* daughter, and, *Earcon-gote*, *Earcon-berht's*.



§. 75. *Equivocal position of certain personal names in respect to the language to which they belong.*—In the preceding chapter, the word *-ness* gave rise to the remark that it was a root common to more languages than one. It was found in the Latin under the form *nas-us*, and in the Slavonic under that of *nos*. Hence its appearance in a given combination was by no means proof of that combination being German. This, of course, subtracted from its value as a characteristic.

The same applies to more than one element of the *personal* names. They are not exclusively German. Some (to go no further) are Slavonic as well; *e.g.* the terminations in *-ric*, *-laf*, *-ld*, *-rod*, *-ast*, and others.

§ 76. *Equivocal origin of certain elements in personal names.*—All the world over, a word, when it is placed as an element in a compound, has a tendency to depart from that full and complete form which it exhibited whilst it was separate and independent.

Take such a word as *feri*. It is easy to see how likely it would be to lose the *e* and become *fri*, or lose the *i* and become *fer*, when subordinated to another word, and with its accent removed.

Or take a pair of words like *-old*, and *-olf*, and let each lose the final consonant. The result is *ol*—a form which might arise from either.

Both these are points to be remembered in the application of personal names as instruments of criticism.

Indeed, I repeat the statement, that, though of great importance in some fields of philological and ethnological inquiry, they are, in the one before us, of subordinate value;—one reason for this lying in the fact of the study of them being in a more immature state than that of the names of geographical localities.

For this reason I have given the lists of p. 109, without any translation; inasmuch as the current renderings have not always been satisfactory. Some, indeed, are clear enough; *e.g.* *beald* = *bold*, *æthel* = *noble*, *heáh* = *high*. The majority, however, are by no means of the unequivocal character of the words *-hurst*, *-lea*, *-wudu*, &c., of the previous chapter.

In some cases I have even allowed myself to suppose that it is not within the pale of the German language that the etymologies are to be sought. This, however, is with the so-called Gothic, Vandal, and Burgundian names, rather than with the Angle. The possibility of certain words being German only in the way that *sparrow-grass* (an adaptation of *asparagus*) is English, may advantageously be recognised as a point of caution—the true language being the Slavonic.

§ 77. *Laws, customs, superstitions, &c.*—All that is said at present upon the evidence derived from the likeness between certain laws, customs, and superstitions of the Angles of England to those of the populations of Northern Germany is that the comparison is limited; but that, as far as it goes, it supports rather than invalidates the conclusions derived from the other more important sources, *viz.* the external testimony of authors, and the phenomena of language.

CHAPTER XIII.

GERMAN ORIGIN, ETC.—PARTS OF GERMANY, ETC.—AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL EVIDENCE.
—DEFINITION OF THE ORIGINAL SAXON AND FRISIAN AREAS.
—THE SPECIALLY ANGLE PARTS THEREOF.

§ 78. *Retrospect*.—Let us now look back upon the facts and questions of the preceding chapters, review the different points from which the subjects have been contemplated, consider the connection between them, and ask what results they prepare us for.

1. That the English language came from Germany;
2. That it fixed itself in England between A.D. 369 and A.D. 597, has been admitted without doubt or reservation.—*Chapters I. and II.*

3. That by the middle of the eighth century it had displaced the Latin of the Roman conquest over the whole of the area from which the Latin had displaced the original British, has been inferred.*—*Chapter III.*

* Upon reviewing my notice of the Rate and Manner of the Diffusion of the English Language, I find that the argument in favour of the Latin of the extract from Beda having been the ecclesiastic Latin of the scripture translations rather than any spoken form of any Romanic language, has been put less strongly than it might (indeed than it should) have been. The following extract ought to have found place in p. 19 :—"Omnes nationes et provincias Britanniae, quæ in *quatuor* linguas, id est, Brittonum, Pictorum, Scottorum et Anglorum divisæ sunt, in ditione accepit."—*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 6. When the *spoken* languages are enumerated, nothing is said about the Latin.

Another point may be noticed.—It is assumed that "the Romans in Britain took the same steps in respect to their language as they did in all the countries they subdued—Greece alone excepted. It is assumed that they diffused the knowledge of their own tongue, and displaced the native."—p. 21, *ad finem*. Now, the more I consider, the more I doubt

With this ends the list of positive and admitted facts. They are evidently few enough. And not only are they few in number, but they are as little precise as numerous. Germany is a large place; the interval between A.D. 369 and A.D. 597 a long one. The commonest of the current histories tells us more than this, tells it in fewer words, and tells it in a less indefinite and roundabout manner. Be it so.

4. The fourth chapter justifies the hesitation and circumlocution of the preceding three, and is devoted to the exposition of some of the chief reasons which invalidate not only the current accounts, but the original *data*, on which they are founded. Doing this, it foreshadows the necessity of a different line of criticism. Special and direct evidence being wanting, we must betake ourselves to inference instead.

For the time and place under notice, we have neither maps nor descriptions; no map for Northern Germany, no description, during the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, for the North-German populations. We have, however, an accredited date for the first invasion of Britain—viz. A.D. 449, the year of the supposed advent of Hengest and Horsa.

Taking this as a sort of central epoch, we ask two questions:—

5. What accounts have we, in the way of external evidence, for the times nearest this date and *following* it?

the accuracy of this assumption; at the same time, I by no means see any reason why Britain should form an exception to the so-called general rule of the Romans introducing the Roman tongue in all barbarous countries conquered by Rome. I rather doubt the generality of the rule itself; and, in the case of the Servian language of Servia and Bosnia, conceive that I see the parallel of what happened in England and Wales. That Wales, in certain parts, was thoroughly reduced, we infer from the present existence of Roman remains, as well as from the *Notitia*, to say nothing about the Latin elements of the Welsh language. That the same was the case with Servia and Bosnia is implied by the name *Mæsia Superior*, the name of the province they formed. Nevertheless, in Servia and Bosnia there is as little of anything like a Romanic language as there is in Wales.

I think it, then, an open question whether the Roman language was ever spoken in Britain at all—to the displacement, at least, of the native tongue, and the evolution of a Romanic form of speech.

I think the same in respect to Servia.

6. What accounts have we, in the way of external evidence, for the times nearest this date and *preceding* it?

The fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters deal with these. To proceed:—

7. As it is clear that if we get the state of things on a given area at two different and distant periods and find them agree we get the state of things for any intermediate one, the extent to which changes have taken place during the interval is the next point that requires consideration. This is given in Chapter VIII. The result being—

8. That the notices of Northern Germany of the second century are essentially the same as those of the ninth, the differences being apparent rather than actual, and the changes which those differences imply being *nominal* rather than *real*. Hence the accounts of certain early classical, and of certain later Carolingian writers are, to a certain extent, valid for the events of the interval between A.D. 369 and A.D. 597.

So much for the question of external evidence, which is not direct, but circumstantial. Respecting this, we have got at the fact that the two sets of witnesses that supply it agree with, rather than contradict, each other. At the same time, the agreement is by no means transparently visible on the surface, or complete when seen.

9. It requires strengthening, does this same external evidence.—This is done in the remaining four chapters, which deal with the Languages, Personal Names, &c., of Northern Germany, and supply so much evidence of the kind called *internal*.

10. The two kinds agree.

How closely?

§ 79. *Comparison of Maps*.—The maps will tell us this.

In a map of *England*, take the counties of Surrey, Herts, Beds, and Huntingdon, and note the character of the local names, looking out more especially for the forms in *-hurst* and *-beck*—the counties just named being the best for the following reason. They are the most purely Angle. Kent has some special peculiarities—real or supposed; whilst westward we get towards the Keltic frontier; and northwards into the Danish area. Cornwall, Lincolnshire, and Berkshire illustrate this—each differently. In the first we may note the compounds

of *tre-* (*Tre-gonel*); in the second, the compounds of *-by* (*Spills-by*); in the third, the absence of these forms. Now *tre-* is British, and *-by* Danish; *-by* Danish, a point to be more especially remembered, and one of wide and important application, as will be seen in the sequel.

In a map of *Germany* take the tribes to which the classical writers refer—the Frisii, Chauci, Chamavi, Dulgubini, Cherusci, Fosi, Angrivarii, Angli, and Saxones; and then, for the Carolingians, take the Westphalians, Angrarii, Eastphalians, and Nordalbingians.

The same will include the districts to which the extant specimens of both the Frisian and Old-Saxon languages have been referred.

The same will agree more closely with the more Angle parts of England than will any other part of Germany.

§ 80. *The -horsts of the Lower and Middle Weser.*—On the Lower Weser we shall find a whole mass of the characteristic *-horsts* — Delmen-*horst*, Fahren-*horst*, and Staf-*horst* north-west of Nienburg. Higher up we branch off into the valleys of the Aller and Leine, in each of which the *-horsts* are numerous. So they are about Minden, Herford, and *Engern* (important *Angri-varian* localities) *e. g.* Jen-*horst*, Bohn-*horst*, Schnat-*horst*, Wallen-*horst*. For the parts about Munster and Dülmen we have *Horst-mar*, Senden-*horst*, Frekken-*horst*, Wolf-*horst*, Issel-*horst*, and Borg-*horst*.

As we go south-east they decrease. Segel-*horst* is to be found in Hesse; but it is an outlier.

§ 81. *Holstein.*—Divide the Duchy of Holstein into two parts, a larger one and a smaller one; the larger one being on the west, the smaller one on the east; the larger one coinciding with the drainage of the Elbe, the smaller with that of the Plöner and other lakes, and the river Trave. The eastern, or smaller, portion will be Slavonic, the western, or larger, Saxon—Nordalbingian Saxon, Nordalbingian Saxon belonging to Stormar, Ditmarsh, and Holsatia.

Here, there is a well-defined region of forms in *-horst*. There are none in the extreme east, none in the extreme west. There are several in the middle district. Ditmarsh has only one or two on its eastern border. The parts east of Kiel and

Lübeck have none. The Eyder on the north, and two artificial lines, slightly irregular in outline, give us the boundaries. One is drawn from the most southern part of the bend of the Eyder to Glückstadt. The other joins Kiel and Lauenburg. This was Slavonic; so that the absence of Angle forms is accounted for.

In Ditmarsh, *-horst* is replaced by the equally Angle forms *-wisch*, and *-büttel*—the one being the *-was* in *Alre-was*, the other the *bottle* in *Har-bottle*, &c.

It is highly probable that what is now the barren Segeberger Heath was once the forest that gave their ships to the Nordalbingian part of the Angle invaders of Britain, and its name to the district of *Holt-satia*, *Holstein*, or *Holt* (*wood*).

The Eyder, like the Elbe, was a Transalbingian boundary.

In *Sleswick* we find much that is Frisian, as will be noticed in another place; something Slavonic, which will support an hypothesis in prospect; much that is High German, and which is recent; and a good deal which is Danish, of uncertain date. But we find nothing distinctively and characteristically Angle—*not even in the district called Anglen*.

Lauenburg need scarcely be divided. For practical purposes it is Slavonic. An old division between the two populations is the river Bille.

§ 82. *Luneburg*. — Lüneburg, like Holstein, though probably, at one time, exclusively Slavonic, must have a line drawn through it. For the south, that of the railway will serve; for the north, one drawn from Bergedorf to Lüneburg. Or we may take the valley of the river Ilmenau, which, without being less accurate than either of the others, is *natural*. It can be followed as far as Bodenteich. On the right (or Slavonic bank) are flat alluvia; on the left (or Saxon) the barren Luneburg Heath. North of the town of Luneburg, and on the Slavonic side of the Ilmenau, lies the village of Bardowick, important from a complication it introduces, a complication arising from its name, and one which will be noticed in Chapter XXII.

§ 83. At Bodenteich a short line, drawn westward, will take us to the frontier of Altmark, the Old March, Border, or Debatable land. No part of Altmark can be claimed for

ancient Saxony, except under the doctrine that all its numerous signs of Slavonic occupation are referable to recent colonisation. The local names in Altmark are well nigh as Slavonic as in Mecklenburg, or Posen; *e. g.* Schaplitz, Wiebelitz, Gieseritz, Peckwitz, Kalbitz, &c., &c. The course of the river Ohre, from its source to its junction with the Elbe, gives us the line here.

The Ohre falls into the Elbe; and, instead of considering the latter river, as is often done, the boundary of Slavonia, we should remember that Altmark is Slavonic, and that the Ohre bounds Altmark.

The Ohre falls into the Elbe. On the other hand, the rivers of Brunswick, and the contiguous parts of Hanover, fall into the Weser.

The Elbe itself is now our boundary, as far as the junction of the Saale; afterwards, the Saale as far as Bernburg. For this district the Slavonic character of the eastern bank is much more certain than the Saxon character of the western—indeed, the common maps give us, for the German side, a few undoubted Slavonic forms, *e. g.* Schleibnitz, south-west of Magdeburg.

South and south-west of Bernburg, the western side of our line, even when German, ceases to be Saxon. Probably it had done so before.

Here, within a few miles of the town of Zerbst, are no less than three forms in* *-by*—Bar-*by*, Steck-*by*, and Brum-*by*—more than can be found in all the rest of Germany put together.

From Bernburg westwards the line is difficult and obscure.

There is the complicated ethnology of the Hartz for one complication.

There is the complicated ethnology of the Hessian frontier for another.

§ 84. *The Hartz—Eastern division.*—The Brocken is our centre here; and next to the Brocken the water-systems that diverge from it.

On the east the Elbe, on the west the Weser, have each their affluents from the Hartz.

* Unless the maps mislead me, and the *-by* be *-bg*, an abbreviation for *-burg*.

Let the eastern parts be taken first.

Of this eastern division there is a northern and a southern subdivision—the northern, with the drainage of the Holzeme and the Bode, the southern, with those of the Wipper and the Helme.

In the parts to the *north* and *north-east* of the Brocken, certain forms in *-s-leben* are at their *maximum*—*e. g.* in the parts about Quedlingburg, Aschers-*leben*, Oschers-*leben*, Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Brunswick. Here we have Barten-*s-leben*, Ermer-*s-leben*, Erx-*leben* (Erk-*s-leben*), Moor-*s-leben*, Alteringer-*s-leben*, Osteringerod-*s-leben*, Uhr-*s-leben*, Wefen-*s-leben*, Eil-*s-leben*, Scer-*s-leben*, Badel-*s-leben*, Oft-*s-leben*, Hoten-*s-leben*, Ohr-*s-leben*, Wacker-*s-leben*, Gun-*s-leben*, War-*s-leben*, Au-*s-leben*, Ott-*leben*, Hamer-*s-leben*, Branter-*s-leben*, Altenbranter-*s-leben*, Oscher-*s-leben*, Hadmer-*s-leben*.

The drainage of the Holzeme and Bode (as aforesaid) gives us these. The area, however, of the *-s-leben*-forms extends further. They will be found both due north, as well as due south of the Brocken. Nevertheless, their chief development is in an eastern and north-eastern direction.

In the *south-east* they decrease, and on the drainage of the Wipper and Helme the termination which characterises an extraordinary proportion of words is the vowel *a*; *e. g.* Stein-*a*, Sachs-*a*, Trebr-*a*, Wied-*a*, Wern-*a*, Berg-*a*, Tyr-*a*, Schwend-*a*, Kellbr-*a*.

I find few or none on the Bode northwards, or on the Weser, Oder, &c., westwards.

I consider that they lead toward another division of the German dialects, *viz.* the Thuringian.

§ 85. *Western division*.—To the north and north-west lie the parts about Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel, Schöpperstedt, Schöningen, Helmstedt, &c. In these certain forms in *-um* are at the *maximum*. We may almost fancy ourselves in Friesland—Ohr-*um*, Börs-*um*, Born-*um*, Rockl-*um*, Eil-*um*, Eitz-*um*, Ahl-*um*, Ahz-*um*, Volz-*um*, Hach-*um*, Gilz-*um*, Lechl-*um*, Eit-*um*, Watz-*um*, Saltz-*um*.

The *south-western* division has no such notable characteristics as the other three, or rather it is remarkable for the

absence of them. To the west and south-west of Andreasburg, and on the drainage of the Oder the Frisian (?) *-um*, the Thuringian (?) *-a*, are equally wanting, the forms in *-s-leben* being rare.

To recapitulate: on the Wipper the forms in *-s-leben* are rare; those in *-um* non-existent, those in *-a* common—Wippr-*a*, Horl-*a*, Gonn-*a*.

On the Oder, these are wanting, as are all forms in *-um*.

On the Helme, the *-a*'s attain the *maximum*.

Where the *leben*'s are most abundant the forms in *-um* decrease, and *vice versa*.

Within the area of the forms in *-s-leben* signs of Slavonic occupancy may be discovered, increasing as we get eastward—Selze, Silze, Selke, Sulze, Harbke, Schermke, Scherbenitz, Wend-essen.

Probably the Hartz was Eastphalian Saxon—less the part drained by the Wipper and the Helme; in which case a line may be drawn from (say) Bernburg to Andreasburg with Aschersleben, Quedlingburg, Ballensted, Güntersburge, and Elbengerode on the north; and Stolberg, and Nordhausen on the south. Near Andreasburg the line turns southwards, and we get into the valley of the Oder.

§ 86. The line now becomes both natural and political; for the watershed between the source of the Leine and its feeders and those of the Wipper and Helme is the southern boundary of the kingdom of Hanover.

It runs west and south-west, dipping downward, Gottingen and Grubenhage lie to the north of it, consequently may be claimed as portions of Saxon Germany. Nevertheless, it is not the local names that bring us to this result. Of these the words ending in *-beck* are the most important. *Beck*=*brook*, and is an English form, as in Wel-*beck*, &c. But it is Platt-Deutsch or Low German as well—the High German form being *bach*.

Now these forms in *-beck* and *-bach* are irregularly distributed. They are by no means uncommon on the Upper Seine and in the parts about Gottingen—Sparr-*beck*, Kre-*beck*, &c. On the main stream, however, of the Weser itself we find a Golm-*bach*, a Lo-*bach*, and a Frost-*bach* to the north of

Hoxter, and *south* of these forms in *a*; a Beven-*beck*, a Rose-*beck*, and a Röhr-*beck* within the Hessian frontier.

§ 87. The external evidence respecting the Saxons of the Diemel (see p. 51), taken along with (what will be noticed more fully in the sequel) the Platt-Deutsch form of speech, must help us here. It justifies us in carrying our line from Andreasburg to Duderstadt, and from Duderstadt to Münden.

That a Saxon population of *some kind* lay further southwards, and dipped into and indented the Hessian frontier, is a matter of fact resting upon the special evidence of a passage already quoted (p. 51). Wolfshanger, in its immediate neighbourhood, was a joint-occupancy—Frank and Saxons—the two populations living together. Zeuss (in *voc. Hessi*) uses an expression which brings the Saxon frontier far downwards and southwards, for he speaks of the *Saxons that pressed forwards* (*vordringenden*).

I would not say that some of the Hessian Saxons were not *in situ*. I abstain, however, from refining on Zeuss' view; and, after remarking that the Saxon frontier was not very far off, pass from Hesse Cassel westwards.

In the southern extremity of the Principality of Waldeck is a *Sachsen-berg*, and in the centre a *Sachsen-häusen*. Were the Saxons that these names suggested *in situ*? Or were they conquering and intrusive populations? Or were they colonists, settled by the Franks? I think that they were *in situ*.

Due west of Waldeck lies the Sauerland, with the watershed between the Weser and the Rhine. The Ruhr has some of its head-waters here. Now *Sauer-land* is *Suther-land*, or *Southern-land*. Yet if we look at either the Hessian area, or the Frank, it lies quite at the *northern* extremity. This is just what we have in our own island, of which the most northern county is the *Southern-land* (*Suther-land*). Why is this? Simply because the name was given by a population which viewed it from the north; viz. the Norwegians of Orkney and Shetland, the old lords of northern Scotland.

Apply this view to *Sauer-land*. It is an intelligible name, if we suppose that a Saxon population gave it; but not otherwise. But in order for it to be given, the Saxon frontier

must have come down as far south as the Sauerland frontier. This it touched; perhaps included.

§ 88. *The forms in -um.*—If we look at a map of the Dutch province of Friesland, we shall be struck with the number of local names that end in *-um*; if we look to one of Germany, or England, we shall find an explanation of its meaning. It is the *-ham* in such English words as Notting-*ham*, Three-king-*ham*, &c. It is the *-heim* in such *High* German words as Oppen-*heim* and Mann-*heim*. It is the *-hem* in such Low German words as Arn-*hem*, Berg-*hem*. It is the German *heim*, the English *home*, the A. S. *hám*. It enters into composition, and varies in its form with the different forms of speech which coincide with the different divisions of the German area. In Friesland, at least, it takes its shortest form, having ejected the initial aspirate.

In Friesland itself, so abundant are these compounds of *-um*, that two out of three of the places within a few miles of Leeuwarden, end in that element. On the other hand, in Zeeland but few words are compounded of the equivalent to *-ham* and *-heim* at all; perhaps none except the word *Ritthem*; which is in *h* and *e*.

Thus we have within the kingdom of Holland the two extremes; *i. e.* the Frisian topography at its *maximum* in Friesland, and at its *minimum* in Zeeland.

Between these two extremes the following is the order of transition.

Groningen.—Here the Frisian compound predominates, and that with the Frisian form. In the *arrondissement* of Appingadam only, we have eighteen names in *-um*.

Drenthe.—Here they do not occur at all. But Drenthe seems to be recently-reclaimed land, and as such, the *habitat* of a population less aboriginal than that of Friesland and Groningen.

Oberijssel.—*a. Arrondissement of Zwolle.*—Here we have three compounds of *-hem*, *viz.*: Blanken-*hem*, Windes-*heim*, and Wils-*um*—all three different; one Saxon, one German, and one Frisian.

b. Arrondissement of Deventer.—One compound in *-um*, Hess-*um*.

c. Arrondissement of Almelo.—Three compounds—Ootmars-*um*, Rent-*um*, and Ross-*um*.

Notwithstanding this diminution of Frisian characteristics, there is between Almelo and Ommen a *Vriesen-veen* = *Frisian fen*.

Gelderland.—*a. Arrondissement of Arnhem.*—Here *Arnhem* takes the form in *hem*. On the contrary, *Helsum* and *Renkum* occur, and so do *Bennekom* and *Ellekom*.

b. Arrondissement of Nimeguen.—Forms in -*um* rare, if any.

c. Arrondissement of Tiel.—*Heukel-um*, *Gellic-um*, and *Ross-um*.

North Brabant.—Three or four forms in -*um* at most.

d. Arrondissement of Zutphen.—Forms in -*em* almost (or wholly) to the exclusion of those in -*um*—*Lochem*, *Zelhem*.

Limburg.—Here are four forms, *Wessum*, *Sevenum*, *Wansum*, and *Ottersum*; but they occur in the northern *arrondissement* (that of *Roermonde*) only, and that in contact with *Groet-hem* and *Baex-hem*.

Utrecht.—Utter, or nearly utter, absence of Frisian forms.

South Holland.—*Ditto*.

North Holland.—*a. In the arrondissement of Amsterdam.* *Blaricum*, *Helmersum*, *Bussum*.

b. In the arrondissement of Hoorn.—*Wognum*.

Notwithstanding this paucity of Frisian forms in North Holland, part of the province is called *West Friesland*; from which we may infer that, even though the termination -*um* be non-existent, there may have been a Frisian occupancy.

With this preponderance of the forms in -*um* in Friesland, and with the evidence as to its then Frisian character, are we justified in coming, at once, to the conclusion that they are definite and absolute signs of Frisian occupancy? They are certainly abundant enough in Friesland; whilst the High German, the Low German, the Anglo-Saxon, and the English forms are transparently different. Again—in Scandinavia, the normal form, at least, is -*jem*, as in *Trond-jem*. Thirdly, a very great proportion of the forms of -*um*, that occur beyond the limits of Holland, are either on the Dutch frontier, or else in localities where a Frisian population either exists at the present time, or is known to have once existed.

Thus—they occur in that part of the kingdom of Hanover which is called East Friesland, *i. e.* in the parts about Embden. But here the very name of the district explains their presence; to say nothing about the Frisian language being still spoken in the fenny tract called Saterland.

They occur all along the coast from Embden to Cuxhaven, from the Dollart to the Elbe, as also in the islands opposite—Wanger-oog, &c. But this is neither more nor less than the country of the ancient Chauci, who were members of the Frisian group.

They occur in the Duchy of Sleswick, on its western side, and in the parts north of the Eyder, between Bredsted and Hus-*um*—Olz-hus-*um*, Bogel-*um*, Lug-*um*, &c., &c. But this is neither more nor less than the country of the *North* Frisians at the present moment, a population whose language is neither Danish nor German, but Frisian, and who call themselves, and are called by their neighbours, *Friese*.

In the *islands* the form appears again; its distribution being as follows:—

a. In Föhr we have Duns-*um*, Utters-*um*, Hedehus-*um*, Vits-*um*, Niebel-*um*, Baldiks-*um*, Vreks-*um*, Oevens-*um*, Midl-*um*, Alkers-*um*, Borgs-*um*, Toft-*um*, Klint-*um*, Olds-*um*, Duns-*um*.

b. In Sylt, Horn-*um*, Mors-*um*, Arks-*um*, Keit-*um*, Tinn-*um*—*all in the southern half of the island.*

c. In *northern* Romö, Toft-*um*. In *southern* Romö, none.

d. In Fanö, none.

e. f. g. In Amröm, in Pelvorm, and in Nordstrand, none.

The islands, however, like the opposite part of the Continent, are North Frisian.

Thus far, then, all is clear.

§ 89. But it is *not* clear when we move northwards. Premising that *-by* is an unequivocal sign of Scandinavian occupancy, let us look to the following list of local names for that part of North Sleswick which lies between Töndern and Ripe.

Oster-*by*.

Wiis-*by*.

Gammel-*by*.

Nor-*by*.

Hus-*um*.

Ball-*um*.

Woll-*um*.

Win-*um*.

Kohl- <i>by</i> .	Nust-hus- <i>um</i> .
Reis- <i>by</i> .	Bjerr- <i>um</i> .
Kirke- <i>by</i> .	_____
Mol- <i>by</i> .	_____
Meel- <i>by</i> .	_____

Here there is intermixture—intermixture which should make us ask whether the form under notice may not be something else besides Frisian, *i. e.* Danish, Norse, or Scandinavian. The propriety of asking this increases when we look further. All over Jutland, all over the Danish Isles, in Sweden, and in Norway, do we find this form. Here, then, it is either not Frisian at all, or not Frisian in the strict, limited, and definite sense it was in Holland, Hanover, Oldenburg, Sleswick, and the North-Sea Islands.

Over and above this form in *-um* being Frisian and Scandinavian, can it be Old Saxon? There are forms in *-um* in certain parts of Germany, which are more likely to have been Old Saxon than Frisian, *e. g.* Drat-*um*, Stock-*um*, Boch-*um*, in Westphalia. A case in favour of the Old Saxons having left out the *-h* can be made out.

The English *her* in A. S. is *hire*, in O. S. *îr*.

„ *their* „ *hira*, „ *îro*, &c.

The answer, then, to this question is more *Yes* than *No*.

Over and above this form in *-um* being Frisian, Scandinavian, and (probably) *Old* Saxon, can it be *Anglo* Saxon? At one time I would have said more *No* than *Yes*. Now, it is more *Yes* than *No*. The main reason against it lies in the forms of the English of the nineteenth century being in *-ham*; with the aspirate retained, and with *a* for the vowel. But it by no means follows that because a form in *ham* should change but slightly in England, it should not change considerably on the Continent; neither is it certain that, *if we take the English forms as they are sounded rather than as they are written*, the difference is so great as it appears to be. Plenty of speakers say Notting-*am*, and even Notting-*um*—whether rightly or wrongly is another question.

Under this point of view I think that such forms in *-um* as occur in those parts of Germany which are more likely to have been Anglo-Saxon than Frisian, must be looked upon as Anglo-

Saxon, notwithstanding the English forms in *-ham*. At the same time, an important fact, which complicates many of our investigations, must be borne in mind, viz. the fact of there having been Frisian (we may also say Slavonic) colonies in different parts of the Carlovingian Saxonia.

At present this is sufficient; sufficient because it has been made clear that, whether the forms in *-um* were Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon as well as Frisian and Norse, or whether they were not, the practical result, for the present investigation, is the same. They were not Low German, and they were not High German. They were not Thuringian, Hessian, or Frank. Neither is there a shadow of evidence for assuming that they were anything intermediate, *i. e.* referable to some division of the German stock which was neither High German nor Low German (Platt-Deutsch), neither Frank nor Frisio-Saxon.

§ 90. If so, we have an instrument of criticism, and can continue our line; which must include the parts about Boch *-um* on the Lower Ruhr, the forms in *-um* in the northern part of Limburg, and the few *-ums* of North Brabant.

Draw it, then, from Waldeck to Duisberg, from Duisberg to Roermonde, from Roermonde to Endhoven, and from Endhoven to Herzogenbosch (Bois le Duc).

Draw it from the Diemel to the Dommel, the Diemel a Waldeck, the Dommela North Brabant, river.

This contains Paderborn, Detmold, Buckeburg (Lippe Schaumburg), Callenburg, Hildesheim, Grubenhage, the northern Hartz, Brunswick, and the parts between that Duchy and the Altmark. It also contains Oldenburg and Hanover, and part of Luneburg. It also contains the western two-thirds of Holstein, but not the eastern third. It contains all Friesland and Westphalia.

In respect to the frontier—

1. The Northern was Danish.
2. The Eastern was Slavonic.
3. The southern was—
 - a.* Frank in the direction of the Rhine.
 - b.* Hessian in the parts south of Paderborn.
 - c.* Thuringian for the obscure parts about the Hartz.

Within these ethnological limits lay Saxonia + Frisia, or Frisia + Saxonia as determined both by internal and external evidence; for we have seen that they agree pretty closely.

Of this Saxon or Frisian area it is safe to say that—

The extreme south was either *Old Saxon* or Frisian, as opposed to Angle.

The extreme north was Angle, as opposed to Frisian and *Old Saxon*.

The extreme west was Frisian, as opposed to *Old Saxon* and Angle.

The more southern and eastern were the parts of *East-phalia* the less were they Angle.

The parts about Bremen, Verden, Celle, Hanover, along with the Duchy of Holstein, were, probably, the most Anglian. Hence—

The *Saxonia* of the Franks contained *Anglia*, *Engla-land*, or *Eng-land*, and something more.

This is what we arrive at if we look at a map of Germany as it was under the Carlovings. But Germany as it was under the Carlovings was not *exactly* the Germany that sent forth the invaders of Britain. It was the Germany of some three centuries *later*.

We must also look at the Germany of Tacitus, &c.; this being different from the Germany of the Angles of England; different because it was the Germany of some three centuries *earlier*.

What do we find here? That the most Angle part of the Carlovian Eastphalia was the country of the *Angli*; the parts which, comparatively speaking, were less Angle than the others, being the districts of the Fosi, Cherusci, and Longobardi. (See Chapter XXII). Nevertheless, these are to be looked at as closely-allied populations—*Angli-form*, so to say; since Ptolemy brings the Angle name as far southwards as the Middle Elbe.

In the way of *internal* evidence the forms in *-um* help us, though not much. Without committing ourselves to the doctrine that they are not Angle, we may safely say that their Angle character (if Angle they be) is less marked and patent than

their Frisian. Neither is it so easily inferred as it was with the Old Saxons.

Now it is just in these parts where the Classics and the Carolingians indicate an *England* (*Anglia*, or *Angla-land*) that the forms in *-um* are rarest. They fringe the coast of Oldenburg and Hanover; where they may be Frisian. They thin off as we go inland; and without entirely disappearing when we get east of Bremen, Bremenvorde, and Stade, they are hard to find.* In Holstein I have not found them at all.

Hence, the two kinds of evidence agree, and point to the parts between Rendsburg and Hanover, between Verden and Lüneburg, and between Bremenvorde and Celle as the original area of those Angles of Germany who afterwards became the so-called Anglo-Saxons of Britain, and later still the English of England.

§ 91. I am far from believing that this rough way of indicating a district by drawing lines *across* it, without giving any that circumscribe it, is the one with which future investigators will be justified in contenting themselves. On the contrary, it is far from impossible that the original *Angla-land* may be defined rather than typified. At the worst an approximation to a definition is practicable; and that for both time and place, date and district.

To attain this, much investigation has to be conducted—much to be learnt, more possibly to be unlearnt. And the work should be distributed. It is quite enough for English scholars, when they employ themselves on points of minute and subtle ethnology, to deal with the *Angli* alone. The complementary labours upon the conterminous and allied populations should be undertaken by the critics of other countries. Thus the Varini, &c. should occupy the Slavonic, whilst the Reudigni should engage the Lithuanic ethnologist; the Dane being employed on the Northern, the Frieslander on the Western, and the Pole on the Eastern frontier of Holstein; the Pole, Russian, or Bohemian on the Eastern frontier of

* There is a Holt-*um* north of Verden, and a Bar-*um* north of Uelzen. Of the district about Brunswick I take no notice at present.

Holstein, because the parts of that Duchy that lie on the Baltic were originally as Slavonic as were Mecklenburg, Pomorania, the Isle of Rugen and (in the mind of the present writer) more than one of the Danish Isles, *e. g.* Laaland.

What applies to the northern part of the *Saxonia* of the Franks applies equally to the southern; where the ethnology, if less important, is more minute, and refined. Here, with the exception of the Slavonic frontier on the east, and the Keltic on the south-west, the ethnological, graphical philology lies within narrow limits, all the conterminous divisions being German, *i. e.* Thuringian, Hessian, Frank, Frisian, Saxon. The learned men of the Hartz, of Paderborn, of Gottingen, of Essen, of Duisberg, &c., have the field laid out for them here, a field which an Englishman may pass over *sicco pede*, or nearly so.

Further *minutiæ* then in the way of *South-Saxon* philology and ethnology will not be attempted; either in respect to place or time. That the area of the two great Saxon and Frisian names was, there or thereabouts, what it has been made out to be is a safe fact in geography. *When* such a line ran is another question; and no simple one either. It involves the ethnological position of certain populations on the frontier which interest the classical as well as the medieval investigator; *e. g.* that of the Bructeri, and Chattuarii (Boructuarii and Hetvære), also of the Chamavi, the Salii, and others. Some of these may have been (as the Salii and Chamavi, according to the current doctrines, actually were) Franks, indenting the Saxon, or Frisian area; some Saxons, indenting that of the Franks; some Frisians; some even Hessians. There is evidence, good or bad, on all these points.

Hence, the Frisio-Saxon, as I have given it, is not asserted to have been Frisio-Saxon in all its parts at the same time; nor yet is it said to include *all* the members of the Frisian or Saxon names. On the contrary, all that is intended is, that no populations be enumerated as Saxon or Frisian which were, originally, other than such, and that no portion of the Frisio-Saxon area be attributed to any Frisio-Saxon population, which, for a time at least, was not occupant of it.

The encroachments of the Frank upon the Saxon, and

of the Saxon upon the Frank, have been, if not equal, at least mutual; so that their history (except towards its conclusion) has been that of two equally-balanced powers. If it were otherwise our problems would be simplified. If the Frank, for instance, had *always* encroached, and the Frisio-Saxon *always* receded, the phenomena which occur between the Englishman of America and the American Indian, or the Northman of Scandinavia and the Lap, would repeat themselves. But such is not the case. Until the time of Charlemagne the Saxons seem to have forced the Frank, as much as the Franks forced the Saxon, boundary. The Frisians, perhaps, *have*, as a general rule, receded, but this is not certain.

§ 92. To recapitulate.

Saxonia + Frisia (or *Frisia + Saxonia*) was, in the eyes of the Franks of the Carlovingian period, West-phalia, East-phalia, Angraria, and Nordalbingia.

Of these, Nordalbingia, and the northern part of East-phalia, were the eminently *Anglo*-Saxon portions.

In the geography of the classical writers the Angli, + certain other populations, occupy them—one of these bearing the name of *Saxon*.

This may or may not have been allied to the Angles, it being by no means certain that the informants of Ptolemy, who first uses the word, and the Franks, used it in the same sense.

That the Angli of Tacitus were the Angles of the Anglo-Saxon conquests is certain. That any other of the populations with which they are associated were so is uncertain.

CHAPTER XIV.

SPECIAL AND DIRECT EVIDENCE OF BEDA, ETC., CONSIDERED.

—JUTES.—JUTES (SO-CALLED) OF THE ISLE OF WIGHT.—
WERE THERE ANY?—THE GOTHIC HYPOTHESIS.

§ 93. As opposed to the line of criticism that has been exhibited in the previous chapter, the evidence upon which the current doctrines respecting the Angle (or Anglo-Saxon) invasions are based may be called direct or special.

The palmary passage is the following; and it is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that it is from Beda; whose date, locality, and opportunities have already been so fully considered:—"Ad-
venerant autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est *Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis*. De *Jutarum* origine sunt *Cantuarii* et *Vectuarii*, hoc est ea gens, quæ Vectam tenet insulam, et ea, quæ usque hodie in provincia Occidentalium Saxonum *Jutarum* natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam. De *Saxonibus*, id est ea regione, quæ nunc Antiquorum Saxonum cognominatur, venere *Orientalis Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones*. Porro de *Anglis*, hoc est de illa patria, quæ Angulus dicitur et ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum perhibetur, *Orientalis Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Mercii*, tota *Nordhumbrorum* progenies, id est illarum gentium, quæ ad Boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant, ceterique Anglorum populi sunt orti. Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa; e quibus Horsa postea occisus in bello a Brittonibus, hactenus in Orientalibus Cantiae partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne. Erant autem filii Victgilsii, cujus pater Vitta, cujus pater Vecta, cujus pater Voden, de cujus stirpe multarum provinciarum regum genus originem duxit."—*Eccl. Hist.* i. 15.

The following is from the Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 449) :—

“ Ða comon þa men of þrim megðum Germaniæ, of Ald-Seaxum, of Anglum, of Jotum.

“ Of Jotum comon Cantware and Wihtware, þæt is seo mæiað, þe nú eardap on Wiht, and þæt cyn on West-Sexum ðe man gyt hæst Iútnacyn. Of Eald-Seaxum comon Eást-Seaxan, and Suð-Seaxan, and West-Seaxan. Of Angle comon (se á siððan stôd westig betwix Iútum and Seaxum) Eást-Engle, Middel-Angle, Mearce, and ealle Norðymbra.”

“ Then came men from three powers of Germany, from Old-Saxons, from Angles, from Jutes.

“ From the Jutes came the inhabitants of Kent and of Wight, that is, the race that now dwells in Wight, and that tribe amongst the West-Saxons which is yet called the Jute kin. From the Old-Saxons came the East-Saxons, and South-Saxons, and West-Saxons. From Angle (which has since always stood waste betwixt the Jutes and Saxons) came the East-Angles, Middle-Angles, Mercians, and all the Northumbrians.”

The latter is little more than a translation of the former—the word *Germaniæ* serving to show which of the two was the original.

There were then, as accredited elements to the population of England,—

1. Angles.
2. Saxons, and
3. Jutes in three places—viz. in
 - a. Kent (*Cantwære*).
 - b. Hampshire (*Jutnacyn*).
 - c. Isle of Wight (*Wihtwære*).

All these will be considered in detail, the last being taken first.

§ 94. *Preliminary remarks.*—Let us suppose the case of an American archæologist, who, in the absence of any authentic history, reasons about the origin of the three populations of Plymouth, New Jersey, and Portsmouth. He knows that, as a general rule, they are to be deduced from England; and he studies the map of the British Isles accordingly. On the south

he finds a Jersey, which he reasonably infers is the *Old* Jersey, the mother country of the *New*. He also finds a Plymouth, from which he draws the same equally-reasonable inference. Lastly, he sees a town named Portsmouth—and here he repeats his reasoning—reasoning which is eminently logical, cogent, and apparently conclusive. Nevertheless, it is all reasoning—all inference. As such, it passes without challenge or objection. But it has a tendency to change its character; and when this takes place, the doctrine as to the origin of the three populations gradually loses its inferential character, and assumes that of a fact founded upon *evidence*. Then it gets to be believed that the doctrine has an *historical* rather than a *logical* basis, and it passes for a fact founded upon records, or, at least, on tradition. In such a case a sentence like the following might easily be written:—"they" (viz. the populations of New Jersey, Plymouth, and Portsmouth) "came from three of the more powerful populations of England, *i.e.* those of Jersey, Plymouth, and Portsmouth. From those of Jersey came the men of New Jersey, from those of Plymouth the men of Plymouth, and from those of Portsmouth the men of the parts so-called." I say that such a sentence might be written, might pass as a fact, and (whether fact or not) would contain an argument so legitimate as to stand against ninety-nine objections out of a hundred. Yet the hundredth might set it aside, since certain facts might have been overlooked.

What if the name of an original Indian tribe had been Jersey (or Nujersi, or some name like it), or Portsmouth, or Plymouth? The chances, I admit, are against such an occurrence. But what if it really happened? It cannot be denied that it would materially shake the inference.

Still the original doctrine might be correct, and not only correct, but capable of having its correctness demonstrated. Let the name in question be the one last mentioned—*New Jersey*. Let the Old Jersey people of England be like those of Plymouth in general, but different from them in some definite characteristics. Let those characteristics reappear in the New-Jersey-men of America. In such a case, the exceptions taken to the statement from the present existence of an aboriginal Indian population called *Nujersi* (for such we will suppose the name to be) would fall to the ground.

But what, if no ethnological acuteness, no etymological sagacity, no minute analysis of names, traditions, or dialects had ever succeeded in detecting such *differentiæ*; so that, despite of the endeavours of learned antiquarians, the men of New Jersey could *not* be shown to differ from those of Plymouth and Portsmouth, whilst (all the while) the *Old-Jersey-men* *did* so differ? In such a case the objection that was originally taken from the previous name of the Indian tribe would stand valid.

But what, if over and above the original Indian *Nujersi*, there were actually an offset from the *Old-Jersey-men* of Europe besides? There would, then, be one *Nujersi* which was Indian, and in respect to which the previous hypothesis was false; and there would be another New Jersey which was European, and, in regard to this latter, the hypothesis would be true. At any rate, the question would become complicated.

But what, if the complication went still further, and there were *two* Jerseys in Europe, *either* of which might have supplied the population to an American one?

There would be a very difficult problem for the ethnological critic. We may safely say this.

Mutatis mutandis, this reasoning about a hypothetical *Nujersi* population of American Indians, unreal as it is, has an important application to the testimony before us.

§ 95. What is this? Not that the *Wiht-wære*, *Vectu-arii* (*Vecti-colæ*), or *Isle-of-wight-men* were of Jute origin.

This is only an opinion, based, perhaps, on historical testimony; but, perhaps, based only on the resemblance of names, and, if so, no piece of evidence at all (either direct or indirect), but an inference.

The real testimony—the testimony of Beda's informant—lies in the words *Vectuarii, hoc est ea gens quæ Vectam tenet insulam*. For this we may fairly consider that we have the personal knowledge of Bishop Daniel (see Chapter IV.) as a guarantee. We may also remark that the fact of there being a population known as *Wiht-wære* (*Vectuarii*) is spoken of as if it were generally and universally known.

This population is noticed by a third author—King Alfred—who writes—

“Comon of þrym folcum þa strangestan Germaniæ, þæt of Saxum, and of Angle, and of Geatum; of Geatum fruman sindon Cantwære and Wiht-sætan, þæt is seo þeód se Wiht þat ealond on eardað.”

“Came they of three folk the strongest of Germany; that of the Saxons, and of the Angles, and of the Geats. Of the Geats originally are the Kent-people and the Wiht-settlers, that is the people which Wiht the Island live on.”

Now, as Alfred is translating Beda, we have no new evidence in the extract from him. We have, however, the fact that his translation of the Latin *Vectuarii* is not the same as that of the Chronicle. The Chronicle writes *Wiht-wære*, Alfred, *Wiht-sætan*; wherein the *-sæt* is the *-set* in *Somer-set*, *Dor-set*, &c. = *settlers*. Hence *Wiht-sætan* and *Wiht-wære* are synonyms = *Vecti-colæ*, or *Vecti-enses*.

Alfred's form is in G, as *Geat*; the Chronicle's in W, as *Wiht*.

The Chronicle follows Beda, and translates the words “*et ea quæ usque hodie in provincia Occidentalium Saxonum, Jutarum natio. nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam*,” rendering *Jutarum natio* by *Jutna-cyn*; *Jutna* being the Genitive Plural of *Jute*, even as *Jut-arum* is of *Jutæ*. Alfred omits these second Jutes.

§ 96. Now *Wiht-wære* and *Wiht-sætan* mean simply the residents of the Isle of *Wight*, and the Nujersi illustration, in its simplest form, finds its application.

In England Beda found Angles, Saxons, and *Wiht-wære*, all in geographical juxtaposition.

On the Continent he found Angles, Saxons, and *Jutes*; all in geographical juxtaposition also.

That the Angles and Saxons of England came from Germany he knew. That the *Wiht-wære* came from *Jut-land* he *inferred*—he himself, or Daniel his informant.

But it may be objected that *Wit-*, and *Jut-* are not sufficiently alike to be thus confused. Perhaps they are not, if we only look at them *à priori*. But what say the texts themselves?

They say that they *were* confused. Beda deduces his *Vectuarii* as decidedly from the *Jutæ*, as he does his *Jutarum natio*. The Chronicle does the same. Alfred, himself, though

he gives us the form in W- only, still connects them with the G-eats.

The *à priori* unlikelihood, then, of forms so different as *Jut-* and *Wit-* being dealt with as identical is not to be relied on. The real facts of the case before us tell us differently. They show that in the case of *Vectis*, or the Isle of Wight, a name which was as old as the time of the Romans, and of British rather than German origin, was current in the South of England long before the names of either Hengest or Horsa were invented. Hence, the confusion and assimilation actually took place.

And what took place in respect to *Jut-land*, the supposed mother country of these *Isle-of-Wight-men*? Precisely the same. The J became V, and the *u* became *i*. In the Saxon Chronicle for A. D. 952, we find "*Dania Cismarina quam Vit-land appellant*. We also find the form *Vith-landia*."—Zeuss in *v. Jutæ*, 500; *note*.

But even the *à priori* objection is inaccurate. The words *William* and *Guglielmus* are to one another as *Witæ* and *Jutæ*.

Again, the population which the majority of writers called *Juthungi*, Sidonius Apollinaris calls *Vithungi*.

"*Nam post Vithungos et Norica bella*."—*Carm.* vii. 233.

§ 97. Were the *Wiht-wære*, then, simply Saxons, Angles, or Anglo-Saxons, differing from the population of the opposite coast only in the fact of their being islanders? As far as we have hitherto gone, we have found nothing to make us believe that they were not.

At the same time they may have been something very different. They may have been distinguished from the ordinary Anglo-Saxons by the fact of their being islanders, but also by other characteristics besides.

Nay, it by no means follows that because they are not shown to be Jutes from Jutland by the particular evidence before us, they may not have been so nevertheless. I have not yet denied their Jute origin. I have only denied that the extracts from Beda prove it. They *may* have been Jutes; and a very slight amount of independent evidence would make me believe that they were. But there is none such. The great Jute cha-

racteristic, the termination in *-by* for geographical localities, is wholly absent throughout the island; nor does any other equivalent characteristic replace it.

What were they, then? There *is* some evidence to make them something; though it is not very good. A passage in Asser makes them Britons; Alfred's mother "Osburg nominabatur, religiosa nimium (*sic*) fæmina, * Nobilis ingenio, nobilis et genere; quæ erat filia Oslac †—qui Oslac *Gothus* erat natione, ortus enim erat de *Gothis et Jutis*; de semine scilicet Stuf et Wihtgar—qui acceptâ potestate Vectis Insulæ—paucos Britannos, ejusdem insulæ accolæ, quos in eâ invenire potuerant, in loco qui dicitur *Gwitigaraburgh* occiderunt, cæteri enim accolæ ejusdem insulæ ante sunt occisi aut exules aufugerant." —*De Gestis Alfredi Regis*.

Now, just as Canterbury (in A. S. Cantwæra-burg) was the chief town of Kent (the *Cant-wære* or *Cant-uarii*), so was Gwit-i-gara-burg the chief town of the *Gwit-gare* (note the fresh form in *-gw*), *Wiht-wære*, *Wiht-sætan*, *Vect-uarii* or Isle-of-*Wight*-men, a town which, in the present English, has lost the prefix *Gwit-*, and become *Caris-brook*. According to Asser this was the last stronghold of the Britons of *Vectis* (Wight).

So far, then, as there is any separate substantive evidence for the *Wiht-wære* being anything other than ordinary Angles or Saxons, or Anglo-Saxons, it is in favour of their having been Britons.

Observe the words *Gothus—de Gothis et Jutis*.

* A pentametre, and as such a quotation.

† It must be owned that this name is eminently Norse, and (as such) Jute of Jutland.—*Aslaug*.

CHAPTER XV.

SPECIAL AND DIRECT EVIDENCE OF BEDA, ETC.—JUTES.—JUTES (SO-CALLED) OF HAMPSHIRE, JUTNACYN.—WERE THERE ANY?—THE GOTHIC HYPOTHESIS.

§ 98. WE must bear in mind the illustrations and criticism of the preceding chapter, and that in its most complicated form.

We must also note the texts of Beda and the Chronicle:—
(1) “De Jutarum origine sunt Cantuarii et Vectuarii, hoc est ea gens quæ Vectam tenet insulam, et ea quæ *usque hodie* in provincia Occidentalium Saxonum *Jutarum natio* cognominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam.” (2) “Of Jotum comon Cantwære — and þæt cyn on West-Seaxum ðe man *gyt hæt Jutnacyn*.”

The real evidence lies in the word “*usque hodie*,” and “*gyt hæt Jutnacyn*,” = “*yet called Jute-kin*.”

Jut-na-cyn has already been stated to be the translation of *Jutarum natio*, the syllable *-na-* being the sign of the Genitive case Plural.

Who is to be followed, Alfred or Beda? Alfred, who deduces the *Wiht-sætan* from the Geats, but says nothing about any Jutnacyn; or Beda, who deduces both the Jutnacyn and the *Wiht-wære* from the Jutes.

Alfred's text gives the fewest difficulties.

Beda distinguishes the *Wiht-wære* and the Jutnacyn. Each, indeed, is of Jute origin; yet each has its own locality and its own name—like, yet different.

§. 99. I once thought that these differences might be reconciled by supposing the Jutnacyn to be the *exules* of Asser, remnants of the original Britons who, having fled from the swords of their enemies on the island, settled on the opposite coast of Hampshire as a refuge. Without adopting the evidence of Asser as to the historical existence of Stuf and

Wihtgar, I adopted the not improbable circumstance of a flight across the Southampton water.

Still there were difficulties.

1. The word *Jut-na-cyn*, though easily getting confused with *Wiht-wære* (or *Wiht-sætan*) when the two terms had each a separate and independent existence, and were each current in one another's vicinity, was not a word that was very easily accounted for when we attempted to deduce one from the other in the way of derivation. It must have been in the island that the name originated. If so, its primary form would have been the one in *Wi-* rather than the one in *Ju-*. Form for form, however, if we take an etymological view of the subject, the order of development would be reversed, it being more in accordance with experience for *Wi-* to grow out of *Ju-* than for *Ju-* to grow out of *Wi-*.

Again, even if we suppose *Jut-* to have grown out of *Wiht-*, we have only the name of the *Island*, and not that of its *occupants*. That these may have been called *Wihts* I by no means deny. I only think that in the face of the forms *Wiht-wære* and *Wiht-sætan* it is unlikely.

2. The statement respecting the Jute origin of the *Cantuarii* (*Cant-wære*) was an objection. If error were here at all, it was error that we could not see our way to. There were no names to which the statement could be traced—names at one and the same time sufficiently like the word *Jute* to raise the idea of *Jutland*, as the country from which they were derived, and, also, demonstrably referable to some other source. If Kent, then, were a country wherein Jutes might reasonably be looked for, why not Hampshire also?

The *Jutnacyn*, therefore, were *not* in the same category with the *Wiht-wære*. They were, on the contrary, a more probable Jute population.

§. 100. The criticism of the previous chapter repeats itself here, and we ask whether there are any confirmatory facts to the statement respecting them.

There are none—none, at least, that point to the existence of *the Jutes of Jut-land*. The forms in *-by* are as absent in Hampshire Proper, as in the Isle of Wight; neither are there any other characteristics to replace them.

But it does not follow that because the evidence in Hampshire to the former existence of *Jutes of Jut-land* is insufficient, the evidence to the former existence of Jutes of another kind is equally so. It was not for nothing that the reader's attention was directed to the words *Gothus—de Gothis et Jutis* in Asser.

What if the *Jut-na-cyn* were a population of *Goths*?

This—the Gothic hypothesis—will be considered when the Kentish Jutes (so-called) have been disposed of.

CHAPTER XVI.

SPECIAL AND DIRECT EVIDENCE OF BEDA, ETC.—JUTES.—

JUTES (SO-CALLED) IN KENT.—WERE THERE ANY?

§ 101. WERE there *Jutes* in *Kent*? The extract from Beda still stands as our text—"De *Jutarum* origine sunt *Cantuarii* et *Vectuarii*," &c. In the Chronicle, "Of Jotum comon *Cantware* and *Wihtware*," &c.

For the two supposed Jute localities—for the *Wiht-wære* of the Isle of Wight, and for the *Jutnacyn* of Hampshire—we had clear and definite contemporary evidence; evidence, which, however we interpreted it, meant something. It might not mean all that has been deduced from it; *e. g.* a connection between Wessex and Jutland, and a Danish occupancy of the south coast of England. Still it was a special statement to a fact capable of being known to the witness—a contemporary fact. It was evidence to something in the way of an ethnological, or a philological, peculiarity. In one of the cases it was worth but little; less, perhaps, than nothing. Still it was contemporary evidence to something or other. It was contemporary evidence to the *then present* existence of *Wiht-wære*, and it was contemporary evidence to the *then present* existence of a *Jut-na-cyn*.

For the Jutes of Kent this contemporary evidence is wanting. *Any* occupants of the soil of Kent would be *Cant-wære*, whatever might be their lineage. The assertion that it was Jute is a matter of opinion rather than fact, and it is only in the shape of an opinion that it has come down to us.

On the other hand, it is the opinion of a *second* witness; a second, and, apparently, an independent one—Albinus, the authority of the Kent, as Daniel was for Wessex.

Again,—although the external evidence to the fact of there

having been any members of that particular division of the great German family that bore the name of Jute is weaker for Kent than it was in the case of the Jutnacyn of Hampshire; the internal evidence to the fact of the Kentish population having been in some point or other (at present undetermined) peculiar, and other than ordinary Anglo-Saxon, is stronger. The very name of the country shows this.

The parts around were designated as *Saxon*, *e. g.* *Sus-sex*, *Middle-sex*, *Es-sex*, and *Wes-sex* = South Saxons, &c. Kent is never so designated. *Pro tanto* this is in favour of Kent being *other than Saxon*, though, by no means, conclusive. *Sus-sex*, *Es-sex*, seem to have been what the Kentish population called them.

The criticism of the two previous chapters repeats itself here, and we ask (as before) whether there are any confirmatory facts to the statement respecting the, real or supposed, Jutes of Kent.

There are two—perhaps more.

§ 102. *The word LATHE*—I give the bearing of this in the words of Lappenberg:—"While the other English shires are parted into hundreds or wapentakes, the county of Kent alone is divided into six *lathes* of regular form, and nearly equal magnitude. These divisions, which have, in later times become mere districts for judicial purposes, served at an early period for the quartering and muster of the general levy. But in the Jutish Law a military expedition is still called a *lething* (in modern Danish *leding*): whence the district summoned together for such an expedition may have borne that name."—Vol. I. p. 96, *Thorpe's Translation*.

§ 103.—*Hengest, a Jute hero*.—The poem entitled *Beowulf* has already been mentioned. Amongst its heroes are,—

1. Fin, the son of Folcwalda (Fin Folcwalding), a Frisian.
2. Hildeburg his queen, a Hocing (the Hocings are the Chauci).
3. Healfdene, the king of the Danes.
4. Hnæf (the *eponymus* of Hanover) a Hocing, his vassal.
5. Hengist, a Jute, his (Healfdene's) vassal also.

These two last invade Fin's territory. Hnæf is slain; Fin's followers also. The bodies are burned. Hengest remains, and meditates vengeance; which he effects by killing Fin and

carrying off his queen. The text is as follows ; the translation being Mr. Kemble's. It may also be found in a version of Mr. Thorpe's as an appendix to the first volume of Lappenberg :—

1. “Hroðgar's poet after the mead-bench must excite joy in the hall, concerning Finn's descendants, when the expedition came upon them; Healfdene's hero, Hnæf the Scylding, was doomed to fall in Friesland. Hildeburh had at least no cause to praise the fidelity of the Jutes; guiltlessly was she deprived at the war-game of her beloved sons and brothers; one after another they fell wounded with javelins; that was a mournful lady. Not in vain did Hoce's daughter mourn their death, after morning came, when she under the heaven might behold the slaughterer of her son, where he before possessed the most of earthly joys: war took away all Finn's thanes, except only a few, so that he might not on the place of meeting gain anything by fighting against Hengest, nor defend in war his wretched remnant against the king's thane; but they offered him conditions, that they would give up to him entirely a second palace, a hall, and throne, so that they should halve the power with the sons of the Jutes, and at the gifts of treasure every day Folcwalda's son should honour the Danes, the troops of Hengest should serve them with rings, with hoarded treasures of solid gold, even as much as he would furnish the race of Frisians in the beer-hall. There they confirmed on both sides a fast treaty of peace.”

Again,—

“Thence the warriors set out to visit their dwellings, deprived of friends, to see Friesland, their homes and lofty city; Hengest yet, during the deadly-coloured winter, dwelt with Finn, boldly, without casting of lots he cultivated the land, although he might drive upon the sea the ship with the ringed prow; the deep boiled with storms, wan against the wind, winter locked the wave with a chain of ice, until the second year came to the dwellings; so doth yet, that which eternally, happily provideth weather gloriously bright. When the winter was departed, and the bosom of the earth was fair, the wanderer set out to explore, the stranger from his dwellings. He thought the more of vengeance than of his departing over the sea, if he might bring to pass a hostile meeting, since he inwardly remembered the sons of the Jutes. Thus he avoided not death when Hunláf's descendant plunged

into his bosom the flame of war, the best of swords; therefore were among the Jutes, known by the edge of the sword, what warriors bold of spirit Finn afterwards fell in with, savage sword slaughter at his own dwelling; since *Guðlaf* and *Osláf* after the sea-journey mourned the sorrow, the grim onset: they avenged a part of their loss; nor might the cunning of mood refrain in his bosom, when his hall was surrounded with the men of his foes. Finn also was slain. The king amidst his band, and the queen was taken; the warriors of the Scyldings bore to their ships all the household wealth of the mighty king which they could find in Finn's dwelling, the jewels and carved gems; they over the sea carried the lordly lady to the Danes—led her to their people. The lay was sung, the song of the glee-man, the joke rose again, the noise from the benches grew loud, cupbearers gave the wine from wondrous vessels."

Another poem of the same character of Beowulf, only more fragmentary, is the battle of Finnesburg. In this, Ordlaaf, Guðlaf, Hnæf, and Hengest are again mentioned,—

Ordlaaf and Guðlaf,
And *Hengest* self
Followed in his tract.

Thus—there is evidence, to Hengest's having belonged to the cycle of Jute fiction—either as a real personage, or as a legendary one.

§ 104. The confirmatory facts to the statements as to the, real or supposed, Jutes of Kent have been said to be *two—perhaps more*. The *two* I have given *in extenso*.

The others are,—

a. Certain points of Law common to possibly Jute Kent and probably Jute Northumberland. Gavelkind, according to Lappenberg, is one of these. But Gavelkind, according to Lappenberg himself, is British rather than German.

b. Certain points of dialectical similarity between Kent and Northumberland. But these are not enough. It should be shown that the Kentish not only agrees with the Northumbrian but differs from the Wessex, Essex, Sussex, and the other contiguous forms of speech. I think this cannot be done, as will be seen in Part III.

c. The "earliest record known to us," writes Lappenberg, "of any of the customary laws of Kent, refers chiefly to circumstances arising out of the feudal system; whilst the Jutish Law of King Waldemar the Second, in the thirteenth century, has adopted many Saxon and other principles; both, however, contain the enactment that the son, in reference to the property of the deceased husband, shall be considered of age in his 15th year; a principle which, though on one side in accordance with the Danish laws, and on the other valid among the socmen in other parts of England, is, probably, not derived from the Saxon laws, but rather to be referred to the immigration of the Jutes."—Vol. I., p. 97, *Thorpe's Translation*.

It is submitted that the latter part of this extract is by no means conclusive; indeed it only professes to give us a probability.

§ 105. The other two, then, stand over for consideration.

The question of the *lathes* will be discussed in the next chapter.

Respecting Hengest there is a good deal to be said, perhaps to little purpose any way.

In the first place, it should be remarked, that the real, primary, and ultimate authority on all these points, Beda, is not answerable for the fact of Hengest and Horsa having invaded Kent; nor yet for Hengest having been a Jute, as may be seen by the text and context. He only states that the Cantuarii were of Jute origin, that Hengest and Horsa were brothers, that Horsa was killed in Kent, and that the two are *reported* (*perhibentur*) to have been the first leaders of—what? *Not* the Jutes of Kent. Possibly of the Angli. Possibly of the German invasion altogether. Certainly not of the Jutes of Kent. "Advenerant autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est *Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis*. Porro de *Anglis, Orientales Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Mercii*, tota *Nordhumbrorum* progenies, id est illarum gentium, quæ ad Boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant, ceterique Anglorum populi orti sunt. Duces fuisse *perhibentur* eorum primi duo fratres," &c.

Now, no principle of construction can make *eorum* apply to the Jutes exclusively. Hence, the evidence of Hengest's having been either pre-eminently a Jute, or pre-eminently the

invader of Kent, is not that of Beda. It is from the Chronicle, and the other later authorities, as is the name of Vortigern, &c.

Hence, the evidence to Hengest having been a Jute is by no means unimpeachable, even if we land him in Kent.

Again—

The enemies against whom Hengest and Horsa help Vortigern are the Picts and Scots. The strategy here is, to say the least, somewhat peculiar—a fleet from Jutland, an enemy from Scotland, and a battle-ground in the Isle of Thanet.

The following extract puts these improbabilities in a still stronger light, so decidedly do they point to the North.

After marrying his daughter to Vortigern, Hengest, amongst other things, says to him:—"Ego sum pater tuus, et consiliator ero tibi invitabo itaque filium meum cum fratruei suo, ut dimicent contra *Scottos*; et da illis regiones quæ sunt in Aquilone, juxta murum qui vocatur *Gual*? Et jussit ut invitaret eos: quos et invitavit, Ohta et Abisa, cum xl. chiulis. At ipsi, cum navigarent circa *Pictos*, vastaverunt *Orchades* insulas, veneruntque, et occupaverunt plurimas regiones trans mare Fresicum, *id est quod inter nos Scottosque est, usque ad confinia Pictorum*. Et Hengistus semper chiulas ad se paulatim invitavit, ita ut insulas de quibus venerant absque habitatore relinquerent: cumque gens illius crevisset et in virtute et in multitudine, venerunt ad supradictam Cantuariam."—*Historia*, cap. 38.

Hence the evidence to Hengest having landed in Kent is by no means unimpeachable, even if we admit him to have been a Jute.

The doctrine that there were *Jutes from Jut-land* in Kent is but imperfectly supported.

CHAPTER XVII.

SPECIAL AND DIRECT EVIDENCE OF BEDA.—THE SAXONS.

§. 106. THE extract from Beda, with its Anglo-Saxon translation in the Chronicle, still stands as a text—"De *Saxonibus*, id est ea regione quæ nunc *Antiquorum Saxonum* cognominatur, venere *Orientalis Saxones*, *Meridiani Saxones*, *Occidui Saxones*."

"Of *Eald-Seaxum* comon *East-Seaxa*, and *Suð-Seaxa*, and *West-Seaxa*," &c.

Nothing is less of a special definite name than the phrase of Beda, viz. *Antiqui Saxones*. It is a substantive *plus* an adjective—an adjective which we may translate by more names than one—*old*, *ancient*, *original*. It is, in short, a *description*, not a *denomination*. This difference is by no means unimportant.

Yorkshire lies to the north of the Humber; but (in the nineteenth century at least) to apply the name "Northumberland" to Yorkshire would be incorrect. Correct as the term might be in geography, it would be wrong *as a name*. It would be no name at all. It would be no name, because it was not borne as such. It would, instead, be a descriptive term under the guise of a name.

Now, this guise, or appearance of a name, is taken on when we get to the Chronicle. *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Wessex* are very different renderings of *Orientalis Saxones*, *Meridiani Saxones*, and *Occidui Saxones*, to what *Eastern Saxons*, *Southern Saxons*, or *Western Saxons* would have been. *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Wessex* are true *names*; of which the Latin forms are, probably, the translation. But *Eald-Seaxe* (Old-Saxon) is in a different predicament. It is a translation of *Antiqui Saxones*; just such a translation as *Eastern Saxons* would have been of *Saxones Orientales*. It is no name at all. It only looks like

one. There were no such populations as the Eald-Seaxe (Old-Saxons), except in the way that Great Britain is *Old* England, as opposed to Connecticut and Massachusetts, or *New* England.

This is one caution against over-valuing the term *Eald-Seaxan* (*Old-Saxons*).

Another lies in the necessity of distinguishing—though only to a certain extent—the Old-Saxon of the Chronicle from the same word as applied to the language of the Heliand. (See Chapter IX.) The latter is a word of wholly recent origin, one which has been created within the present century. It replaces the exceptionable compound *Dano-Saxon*, compared with which it is an accurate and convenient word. But it is neither accurate nor convenient on the whole. It is inaccurate, so far as it implies that the language is really older than the Anglo-Saxon, and it will be shown to be inconvenient by what follows.

The Old-Saxon of the Heliand is the Saxon of Westphalia, as opposed to the Saxon of Hanover and Holstein.

The *Old-Saxon* of Beda is the Saxon of the Continent, as opposed to that of Britain; the Saxon of the parent country as opposed to that of the colony or settlement.

Suppose the two to be identical, and the Saxons of Sussex, Essex, Middlesex, and Wessex were no Anglo-Saxons, in the strict sense of the term, but Westphalian Saxons.

What we call *Anglo-Saxon*, as opposed to Old-Saxon, was, in the eyes of Beda, actual Old-Saxon, provided a single representative of the population that invaded England could be found in any part of Northern Germany.

But it may be said that the Old-Saxon of the Continent became Anglo-Saxon in England. This is just the conclusion I wish to guard against. The difference between the language of the Heliand and the language of the Chronicle is not a question of *time*, but of *place*. The Old-Saxon of the Heliand was spoken over a part from which the invaders of England are *not* deduced. The Old-Saxon of Beda was spoken over the parts from which the Anglo-Saxon *was* deduced, and a vast tract of country beside. The *Old-Saxon* of Beda included the *Anglo-Saxon*. The *Old-Saxon* of the nineteenth century is opposed to the *Anglo-Saxon*.

The identity, then, of the two is no identity at all. It is an identity of less than fifty years old. It is an identity not based on fact; but one of our own making. Hence, we must guard against premature deductions by arguing as if it had never existed. Beda's term conveys a fact; ours is only a symbol, for the present inquiry an inconvenient one.

It might not, perhaps, expedite our reasoning if, discarding the word Old-Saxon altogether, we guarded against any undue influence of name, by speaking only of the "*Antiqui Saxones*" and the "*people who spoke the Language of the Heliand*." It would, however, make our conclusions all the safer.

The latitude with which Beda used this word was very great. He calls the *Boructuarii*, the descendants of the *Bructeri* of Tacitus, *Antiqui Saxones*. They were, perhaps, Franks. But this is an open question. There is *no* question about what follows—*sunt autem Fresones, Rugii, Dani, Huni, Antiqui Saxones*. In the doctrine that the Huns and Danes were Old-Saxons we have a measure of the value of Beda's evidence in respect to the geography of Germany.

§ 107. One or two instances of the use of this word are remarkable. It was applied to the Saxons of Westphalia not only by the Angles of Britain, but in the Papal briefs—by the occupants of the Continent. At first this looks as if the name were native.

But it is not so. It was the Anglo-Saxons of England who converted the Westphalians to Christianity, so that the name by which the latter were known in the Church histories of the time was the name which the Angles gave them. Probably, it was little more than a synonym for *Pagan*.

The Britons used it in this way. After mentioning certain kings of Deira and Bernicia (Northumberland) Nennius adds:—"contra illos quatuor reges Urbgen, et Riderchen, et Guallaric et Morcant dimicaverunt. Deodric contra illum Urbgen cum filiis dimicabant (*sic*) fortiter. In illo autem tempore aliquando hostes nunc cives vincebantur; et ipse conclusit eos tribus diebus et tribus noctibus in insula Metcaud; et dum erat in expeditione jugulatus est, Morcanto destinante pro invidia, quia in ipso præ omnibus regibus virtus: et xii. millia hominum

in uno die baptizati sunt cum eo. St. Paulinus Eboracensis eos baptizavit; et per xl. dies non cessavit baptizare omne genus *Ambro-num*, id est *Aldsaxonum*."—*Nenn.* c. 66.

Here the Old-Saxons are the Angles of England, the Angles of the Bishopric of York, Angles that required baptism, Angles that bear the strange name of *Ambrones*; probably = *Humbrian* = of the *Humber*, though there are other interpretations.

§ 108. Any undue inference from the word *Old-Saxon* has now been sufficiently (perhaps superfluously) guarded against; and the question of identity may be taken up on its own merits.

The Antiqui Saxones of the English invasion were not the Old-Saxons of the modern scholars—except so far as they both belonged to that part of Germany which was called *Saxonia*.

As far, too, as the *Antiqui Saxones* of the English invasion differed from the Angles, they differed differently from the population that spoke the language of the *Heliand*.

a. The Anglo-Saxon of Wessex is not the language of the *Heliand*; nor are there any traces of any such dialect in any of the counties ending in *-sex*—*Sussex*, &c.

b. The language of the *Heliand* belonged to Westphalia. The *Antiqui Saxones* of the English invasion were, partly at least, in Holstein. This will be shown more fully when the Angles are noticed.

The *Antiqui Saxones*, then, of the English invasion did not differ from the Angles in the way that the word "Old-Saxon" as applied to the language of the *Heliand*, and the "Eald-Seaxan" of the *Chronicle* would lead us to believe.

Did they differ at all? This will be answered (in the *negative*) when the text concerning the Angles has been considered.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SPECIAL AND DIRECT EVIDENCE OF BEDA, ETC.—THE ANGLES.

§ 109. THE extract from Beda, &c., still stands as a text:—
 “Porro de *Anglis*, hoc est, de illa patria, quæ *Angulus* dicitur et ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum perhibetur, Orientales *Angli*, Mediterranei *Angli*, Mercii, et tota Northumbrorum progenies, id est, illarum gentium, quæ ad Boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant, ceterique Anglorum populi orti sunt.”

“Of *Angle* comon (se a syþþan stod westig betwix Iutum and Seaxum) East *Engla*, Middel *Angla*, Mearca and ealla Norðhymbra.”

The chief criticism turns on the word *Angulus*, and the statement of its having been left a desert from the days of the Angle migration until Beda's. In two passages of Alfred, and in one from Ethelweard, we find a commentary:—

Alfred.—“And be wæstan Eald-Seaxum is Albe muča and Frisland. And þanon west-norð is þæt land, the man *Angle* hæt, and Sillende, and summe dæl Dena.”—Oros, p. 20.

“He seglode to þæm porte þe man hæt *Hæþum*; se stent betwuh̄s Winedum and Seaxum, and *Angle*, and hyrð in on Dene . . and þa twegen dagas ær he to *Hæðhum* come, him wæs on þæt steorbord Gothland and Sillende and iglanda fela. On þæm landum eardodon *Engle*, ær hi hiðer on land comon.”—Oros. p. 23.

“And on the west of the Old-Saxons is the mouth of the river Elbe and Friesland; and then north-west is the land which is called *Angle* and Sealand, and some part of the Danes.”

“He sailed to the harbour which is called *Hæðum*, which stands betwixt the Wends and Saxons, and *Angle*, and belongs to Denmark . . and two days before he came to *Hæðum*, there was on his starboard Gothland, and Sealand, and many islands. On that land lived *Engles*, before they hither to the land came.”

Etherwerd (in the eleventh century) writes:—" *Anglia* vetus sita est inter Saxones et Giotos, habens oppidum capitale, quod sermone Saxonico *Sleswic* nuncupatur, secundum vero Danos *Hathaby*."

For a modern map Alfred's Saxons are carried a little too far east; or we may say that his Angles lie too much westwards. With Saxons to the east of the mouth of the Elbe, it is not easy to find a place for the Angles in a north-west direction. Of course, some parts of Sleswick can be made west of some parts of Holstein. Generally, however, the two Duchies lie north and south of each other. True, there is one part of Holstein which lies east of the most eastern part of Sleswick, the parts between Kiel, Lubeck, and the sea,—but this was *not* Saxon. It was Slavonic, or Wend.

Subject to this exception the geography is pretty clear. And it is interesting as well. The three names for Sleswick are remarkable: one is Saxon, one Danish, with its characteristic termination *-by*, and the third Frisian; *viz.* *Hæð-um*. None of these facts are unimportant. *Hæþaby* shows that the Jutes were Danes; and so confirms one of our postulates. *Hæþum* suggests the antiquity of the present North-Frisian population.

Beda's form is *Angulus* not *Anglia*. It means the district which is called *Anglen* at the present moment, which is a part of the Duchy of Sleswick, which is literally an *Angle*; *i. e.* a triangle of irregular shape, formed by the Schlie, the Flensborger Fiord, and a line drawn from Flensborg to Sleswick. It may be the size of the county of Rutland or a little larger; and it lies on the side of the Peninsula furthest from England. Although one of the most fertile parts of Sleswick, it was likely to have been a desert; inasmuch as it was a frontier land, or March, between the Danes and the Wends of East-Holstein. But it was not likely to have been the mother-country of any large body of emigrants—still less for an emigration across the German Ocean—least of all for such a one as conquered England. I believe that if it supplied the Angle parts of Britain with Angles it would be well emptied; and more than this I do not believe. At present it is German—showing signs of having once been Danish, showing no signs (except the

name) of having ever been Angle. Some of its local names end in *by* (Danish = *town*) as *Hus-by*, *Herreds-by*, *Ulse-by*, &c.; some in *gaard* (= *house*), as *Oe-gaard*; whilst the other Danish forms are *skov* = *wood* (*shaw*), *hofved* = *head*, *lund* = *grove*, &c.

At one time I was inclined wholly to disconnect the name *Anglen* with the *Angles*; holding that it meant the *Angle* (or *nook*) of *land*, and was, simply, a geographical term misunderstood. Since then, however, I have been in the country, and found that there is a *second Angle district* to the south of *Leck*, and in the *Frisian country*; a fact which invalidates the previous view.

But, even if this be granted, it is only evidence to the fact of there being *Angles* in *Sleswick at the time of Beda*.

§ 110. There is no objection to this. There is no objection to the *Anglen* of *Sleswick* having been *part* of the country of the *Angles* who invaded *England*. The only objection lies against its having been *coextensive with the mother country of the English*. Yet this it must have been, if the *Saxons* were different from the *Angles*, and the *Saxons* be rightly placed by *Beda* and *Alfred*. There is no room for its extension elsewhere with *Danes* on one side, *Saxons* on the other, *Wends* on the other. If *Alfred* and *Beda* be right, and if the *Saxons* be other than the *Angles*, the latter populations are limited to the corner assigned to them. They cannot have extended *continuously* in any direction.

But there may have been *Angles* elsewhere; isolated *Angles*, distant *Angles*; *Angles* whose area was discontinuous. Granted. If so, however, the *Angles* of *Anglen* were only *a part of Anglia* (*Angle-land*, or *England*). This was, perhaps, the case. Or the *Saxons* may have been *Angles*. If so, the discontinuity is reduced, perhaps, to nothing.

The objections lie not so much against certain *Angles* having come from *Anglen* as against the notion that the *Angles* were one thing, the *Saxons* another, and that both came from a fraction of *Sleswick-Holstein*; of which the *Angle* portion is called, not *Anglia*, but *Angulus*.

But Beda was an Angle—a learned Angle. How could he be mistaken? Easily. He wrote as an ecclesiastic, his authorities wrote as ecclesiastics, and the ecclesiastics used the nomenclature of the Franks, from whom they received their Christianity. Now the Franks knew nothing of any Angles. They simply knew of Saxons—Cisalbingians, or the Saxons to the south of the Elbe, Nordalbingians or the Saxons to the north of the Elbe. The *Danes* might have known that part of Northern Germany for what (I believe) it actually was; viz. *Angle*; but not the *Franks*; not the writers of *Latin*; not the *Britons*. The *Frisians*, too, may have known the *Angles* to the same extent as might the Danes; but Beda's authorities were Latin, British, Frank, each and all of whom knew nothing of *Saxons*. To ask for Angles was like asking an Alexandrian for the *Greeks*, or a Roman for the *Hellenes*.

But why make the distinction? why not identify the two? why have one history for the Angles, and another for the Saxons? Remember how the Ecclesiastical History was written. It is only for the northern parts that Beda himself is, at one and the same time, the witness and the critic. For Essex, Kent, &c., he took the accounts of Nothelm, Albinus, &c., &c. These used the terms of the country around them, and may possibly have surprized Beda in talking of *Saxons* only—in ignoring (so to say) the *Angles*. These it is who give us such names as *Occidui Saxones*, &c.—names which Beda took as he found them, and explained—not (in my mind) rightly, but not unreasonably, according to the lights of his time.

His authorities, then, forced him to separate the Angles from the Saxons.

But the same authorities (along with many others) made *Saxonia* a large district.

The more they did this, the less room they left for *Anglia*, or *Angle-land*.

§ 111. The exceptions that lie against Beda's statement respecting the Angles are limited. No exception *at all* is taken to the statement that the East Anglians, Mercians, and Northumbrians, came from the Angles of Germany.

No *grave* exception is taken to the statement that they

came from that particular part of Sleswick which is called *Anglen*.

The real exceptions lie—

1. Against the doctrine that it was from this small district of *Anglen* that the Angles came *exclusively*; and—

2. Against the doctrine that the Angles and Saxons were notably different.

§ 112. *What was the district called Anglen?*—If we now ask what this small district of *Anglen* really was, we find that it was one of two things.

a. It was part of the original Saxon area; or—

b. It was a portion of an area *not* originally Saxon, but, on the contrary, either Danish or Slavonic (like East Holstein), which certain Angles from the parts to the south of it may have appropriated, even as they appropriated Britain.

I incline to the latter of these views. Let the Angles of the Holsatian part of Nordalbingian Saxony (so called by the Franks) press so far westward as to encroach upon the Slavonians of the parts about either Lübeck or Kiel, and touch the Baltic. Then the occupation of such a district as *Anglen* becomes easy.

What are we to say to the statement of this same *Angulus* being a desert from the time of the *Angle* emigration? I incline to the opinion that this is what it actually was; though not for the reason given by Beda. It lay on the confines of three different, and often hostile, populations: the Angles, or Anglo-Saxons, of Nord-albingia; the Danes of Sleswick, Jutland, and the Islands; and thirdly, the Slavonians of Eastern Holstein. Under such conditions, it may easily have been a Debatable Land or *March*, and (as such) a land not over-well cultivated or over-fully inhabited.

§ 113. *Saxon no native name.*—It is not difficult to perceive towards what conclusion the remarks upon the partial character of the district of *Anglen*, along with the prominence given to the Frank usage of the word *Saxon*, are directed. They lead to the inference that the Saxons of Great Britain, so far as they were not Westphalians or *Old-Saxons* in the newest sense of the word (which they were *not*), were simply Angles under

another name. This requires both further illustration and further proof. The opinion, as it stands, goes to the length of denying that the Saxons of *Es-sex*, *Middle-sex*, *Sus-sex*, and *Wes-sex* were *Sax-ons in their own eyes*, and in their own *original* nomenclature at all. They were *Saxons* only as the Hellenes were *Greeks*, *i.e.* in the language of their neighbours, but not in that of themselves.

Originally, or at the time of their first settlement, this is held to have been the case. At a later period, of course, the name was adopted by the Southern Angles themselves. If it were not so, we should have no such names as *Es-sex*, *Middle-sex*, &c. *Originally*, however, it was strange to the population which afterwards bore it. Their neighbours gave it. It was afterwards taken.

The support of this doctrine, when exhibited in the most general way, lies in the three following statements.

1. Firstly, that there is no evidence of the Saxons of even the most Saxon part of England having called themselves by that name, or, indeed, by any name different from the ordinary Angles of Norfolk, Suffolk, the Midland Counties, or the Northern Counties.

2. Secondly, that there are certain presumptions against their having done so; and—

3. Thirdly, that all the well-authenticated facts connected with the name are explicable by means of the hypothesis just suggested; *viz.* the hypothesis that the Saxons were Saxon only as the Hellenes were Greek, *i.e.* Saxon in the eyes of their neighbours and frontagers only.

The first and third of these lines of criticism go together, inasmuch as the fact of certain parts of England being undeniably designated by names ending in *-sex* (= *Saxon*), requires explanation. If the word were originally foreign, its adoption has been eminently complete. The German writers use it; Beda himself, Angle as he was, being one of them. As to the names *Es-sex*, *Sus-sex*, and *Middle-sex*, they are standing witnesses, even to the present day.

And over and above these, there was, in the period before the Norman Conquest, a *Wes-sex*. This is a primary and palmary

fact, patent and undeniable; and I admit at once that it is *primâ facie* evidence in favour of the name being native and indigenous, and against it being of foreign origin. Foreign, however, it was.

That the *Angles* were called *Saxons*, by their neighbours, is clear.

a. The Welsh, Gaels, and Armoricans call us, at the present time, not Englishmen, but *Saxons*; just as the Romans called the Athenians, not Hellenes, but Greeks.

b. The Romans did the same.

c. The Franks did the same.

There is neither doubt, nor shadow of doubt, upon any of these points; neither is there any as to the populations using the term, being not only in contact with the so-called Saxons, but in such contact as to make their nomenclature (whatever it might be) eminently likely to establish itself. Thus, the Romans and Britons were on the spot, agreeing with each other in the use of the particular name under notice; so that, supposing there were actually a native name, the chances against it would be two to one, *i. e.* there would be a Roman and a Keltic name against a German name single-handed. This, perhaps, is the language of the betting-ring rather than the library. It is, however, justifiable, if not necessary. The *double* source of the influences which would determine the preponderance of the one name over the other is an important item in our criticism.

But the Franks, a *third* population, used it also; and, like the Romans and Britons, the Franks came in contact with what they called Saxons — with the Saxons of the Continent certainly, with the Saxons of Britain, probably. In the sequel it will be shown that a special case can be made in favour of the Germans of Kent having been, more or less, Frank; a fact which, if real, strengthens the present view. But it is not considered necessary. The Frank origin of the Kentish and Saxon Christianity is sufficient.

It is submitted, then, that the presumed influences under which a name originally foreign to certain districts in the south of England came to be naturalised are sufficient.

Although the names *Sus-sex*, &c., form nine-tenths of the

evidence in favour of Saxon being a native name, they are not altogether the only points to be considered.

If we turn to the *Abrenuntiatio* (p. 85), we shall find the name *Sax-neot*. Without saying what this means (for the interpretations are more varied than satisfactory), we may say that it looks like the name of some mythic person, whom the populations to whom the *Abrenuntiatio* applied, on their conversion to Christianity, were compelled to forswear. It might be the name of an *Eponymus*. It might be this; and though it might not be anything of the kind, the probability of being so is a fact not without its value. At one time, I put it higher than I do now.

Secondly, comes the story of *nimeþ eowre Seaxas = take your knives*; in which judicious scholars have allowed themselves to believe. I class this, as an etymology, with those puerilities which abound amongst the Low-Germans.

Ask at Hamburg the derivation of the neighbouring town of *Altona*, and you may be told that it means *all-to-nah = all-too-near*. *Wolmirstadt*, again, is *wolh-mir-steht*; Charlemagne, or some one else, having looked at, and approved of it, and said so. In Temme's legends for Altmark, Pomorania, &c., the derivations of this kind are to be counted by the score. To the limbo of these I relegate the *nimeþ-eowre-Seaxas* story.

Against these put the presumptions in favour of the opposite view.

1. No clear distinction has ever been drawn between, *e.g.* an Angle of Suffolk and a *Saxon* of *Es-sex*.

2. The Romans, who knew, for some parts at least, every inch of the land occupied by the Saxons of Germany, as long as there is reason for believing that they took their names from German sources, never use the word *Saxon* at all. It is strange to Strabo, Pliny, and Tacitus. Ptolemy is the first who uses it; and Ptolemy it is whose sources more especially seem to have been other than German; at any rate less exclusively German than those of Tacitus.

3. Whenever we find a population called *Saxon*, we find that, for some reason or other, it has some other name as well. Thus, the so-called—

a. Saxons of Holstein are *Nordalbingians* when the name is general; *Ditmarsi*, *Holsati*, and *Stormarii* when we have them in detail.

b. Those of Northern Germany are *West-phali*, *Ost-phali*, and *Angarii*.

Of all such synonyms, *Saxon* is the least evidently German in respect to its form.

4. The king who is said to have determined that England should be called the *Angle-land*, was a king of the West-Saxons, Ecbert.

I consider this a difficulty on one side fully equivalent to all the others on the other put together. It is as if the king of Prussia should propose that all Germany should call itself *Austria*.

5. Throughout the whole range of the Anglo-Saxon literature the two terms are used indiscriminately; so that we have Angles in Wessex, &c., and Saxons in Mercia and Northumberland. The rule for this inconsistency has yet to be laid down. I believe it to depend upon the sources from which the historian derives his information. When Frank, Latin, or British, *Saxon*, when native, *Angle* is the term.

§ 114. *Diffusion and origin*.—How the name spread abroad, and took root when once originated, is transparently clear. The Franks (to go no further) promulgated it; the Franks, who knew of nothing between the Eyder, and the Rhine, and the Elbe, but themselves, Slavonians and *Saxons*. From them the Romans may have taken it; the Britons from the Romans, or *vice versâ*.

The *origin* is a hard question. When we look at the *Saxons* of Ptolemy, and consider both the distance and the smallness of their occupancy, the improbability of the diffusion of the name being owing to a diffusion of the population becomes manifest. The absolute bodily spread of the Saxons of Holstein and its three islands over half Germany and Britain is, of course, no physical impossibility. It is only an utterly unnecessary assumption. It was the *name* that went abroad, and that because a certain population which called some other population by a certain name enlarged itself.

Let us go back to a name that has already helped us to

an illustration, and look at the word *Greek*. What does it mean? The populations who called themselves *Hellenes*; and who did *not* call themselves *Greeks*. Yet we even in England talk of *Greece*. Why? Because a certain population which called the Hellenes *Græci* diffused its language over one vast section of Europe, and much of its civilisation over another. The name became current, important, widely spread. Why? Certainly not, because the *Græci* themselves were a nation of conquerors. On the contrary, they were, in and of themselves, the obscurest of the obscure; as much so as even the Saxons of a fraction of Holstein and its three islands. They never enlarged themselves at all. Yet their names grew great, and reached far. Why? Simply because the medium through which it circulated was an ever-widening one.

Hence, *mutatis mutandis*, the insignificant *Saxones* of the neck of the Cimbric Chersonese, and the three Saxon islands, first mentioned by Ptolemy, are the analogues of the equally unimportant *Græci* of Epirus; and these it was whose name eventually comprised populations as different as the Angles, and the Saxons of Saxony, even as the name *Græcus* in the mouth of a Roman comprised Dorians, Æolians, Macedonians, Athenians, Rhodians, &c.

With this view, there is as little need to consider the Saxons of the neck of the Cimbric Chersonese to have been *exactly* what the *Angles* were, as there is for considering the *Græci* of Greece to have been exactly what the Athenians were.

There need not have been much likeness. There need not have been any. There may, indeed, have been absolute difference.

It is by no means certain that the *Græci* belonged to the Hellenic at all. On the contrary, a strong case can be made out for their having been Illyrians. The fact of their name being afterwards applied to the Hellenes proves nothing in respect to its original power.

Neither is it certain that the Saxons of Ptolemy were Germans at all. On the contrary, a fair case can be made out for their having been Slavonians, or even Fins.

Still there was a real body of Saxons, though a small one.

And their name spread both west and east, north and south.

The Finlanders call the Germans *Saxons*. Why? I think that we can best explain this by supposing the Slavonians of the East promulgated the name much in the same way as did the Franks of the West.

§ 115. Let us now take a retrospect.

The evidence of Beda, and the writers after him, has been invalidated in three quarters, and upon three points.

1. As to there having been *Jutes from Jutland* in the Isle of Wight, in Hampshire, and in Kent.

2. As to there having been any notable distinction between the Angles and the Saxons.

3. As to the small district of Anglen having exclusively supplied its Angle population to England.

The denial of any original difference between the so-called Angle and the so-called Saxon parts of England is simply a common-sense view of the question. *De non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem habenda est ratio*. Nothing is explained by assuming a distinction; whereas the supposed necessity of finding traces of one has led to considerable exaggeration in the appreciation of certain local differences—whether of dialect or manners; the fuller exposition of which will appear when we treat of the dialects of the English language.

The same applies to the Jute question.

The questions as to the magnitude of the Angle area and the homogeneity of its population are connected. So is the question as to the rate of diffusion of the Angle form of speech. The larger the area, the smaller the time necessary for the displacement of the original British. So that it is not a matter of no importance whether the original Angle area be made large rather than small. Common sense requires it to be made as large as is compatible with the Slavonic, Danish, Frisian, and *Old-Saxon* areas.

The writer thinks it necessary to give prominence to this common-sense character of his results. Had they been positive rather than negative, and had they led to complications rather than to simplification, a greater amount of criticism would have been necessary. But such has not been the case.

Once admit that the evidence of our primary authorities is not so conclusive as to put further criticism out of the question, and the results at which we arrive by treating the subject on its own merits are all characterised by simplicity, and by the absence of complex movements in the way of migration, displacement, conquest, obliteration of characteristics, and the like.

On the other hand, the impugment of evidence so respectable as that of the great luminary of the eighth century is a point upon which a difference of opinion may be expected. To some critics the credibility of old accounts is the rule, with others the exception.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONCURRENT, CONFEDERATE, AND SUBORDINATE INVASIONS.

THE JUTES (SO-CALLED) OF KENT AND HAMPSHIRE.—
WHO WERE THEY? — THE GOTHIC HYPOTHESIS. — THE
FRANK.

§ 116. LET us suppose that, instead of the different parts of England being named according to the different divisions of the soil, they were named after the different divisions of the population; so that instead of the county Kent we talked of the *Kentings* or men of Kent, and, instead of the county Warwick, we talked of the *Hwiccas*, and so on. If we did this, we should do no more than was done by the Anglo-Saxons, with whom, *Kenting* and *Hwiccas* were real names. The supposition in question will make our illustration all the clearer.

With this nomenclature let us investigate the ethnology of the United States of America. The main population is English, some part of it from Kent, some part of it from Warwickshire, some part of it from elsewhere. Some part of the migration consisted of *Kentings*, some of *Hwiccas*, and so on. Now these *Kentings* and *Hwiccas* are mere details of the English name, to which an analysis of the component parts of the English population has led us. They are Angles under another designation.

Now, although nine out of ten of the elements of the American occupancy may be referable to the English name—constituents, elements, details (so to say) thereof—the concurrent existence of populations other than English is by no means precluded thereby. The English migration may not have been made single-handed. There are such things as un-English parts of England. To say nothing of Wales, Corn-

wall, the Isle of Man, Scotland and Ireland, there are Orkney and Shetland, which were more or less Norwegian when America was first discovered, though English in respect to their political relations. In a question of ethnology these could scarcely be called details of the English name.

Then there are the Dutchmen of Holland, and the Swedes of Sweden, the former of which colonised New York, and the latter those parts of Pennsylvania and Delaware which bore the name of New Sweden, a name now obsolete, but once current. These are, assuredly, no details of the English name.

So much in the way of illustration. To the populations in the predicament of the supposed Kentings and Hwiccas, the details, elements, or constituents of the English name, I shall attribute what will be called a *subordinate* part in the migration, and call them the *subordinates* of the Angles. To the populations in the predicament of the Dutch and Swedes, I shall attribute what will be called a *concurrent* part in the invasion, and call them the *concurrents* to the Angles.

Confederates.—A *subordinate* member of the Angle name is in the relation of the old Kentings and Hwiccas to the Angles (Anglo-Saxons) at large, or in that of a Cumbrian, a Lancastrian, or a Northumbrian, to the present Englishmen—the name being taken in its general sense.

A *concurrent* agrees with the Angles in having invaded Britain, and helped to effect certain changes in the original Roman, Britannic, or Romano-Britannic population. No necessary relation to the Angles is implied hereby, either ethnological or political. *One* concurrent invasion has already been indicated, viz. that of the Goths of Gaul. It is supposed to have been perfectly independent of the Angle movements.

Intermediate to the invasion of a concurrent and a subordinate is that of a *confederate* population. Supposing that it had been true that (the Jutes being one population and the Angles another) a leader like Hengest had succeeded in uniting them into a common league against Britain, what would have been the phenomenon? An invasion—but not that of a subordinate population, inasmuch as the Jute name was no detail of the Angle. Nor yet a concurrent invasion; since the movements of the two nations were, by no means, inde-

pendent of each other. It would be an instance of *confederacy*, the part that the Jutes took being that of members of an Angle league. Presuming the Angles to have been at the head of this, we may still speak of them as being subordinate. The subordination, however, is not ethnological but political, and the sum in which the Jute is an item, or detail, is not the Angle name, but the Angle political power.

As the criticism of the *concurrent* invasions is the simplest, it comes first in order.

§ 117. *Concurrent invasions—the Goths of Gaul—Gothic hypothesis.*—The reader is referred to Chapter XV., and to the term *Gothic hypothesis*.

This means that the *Jutnacyn* were no Jutes from Jutland, but Goths from Gaul.

If they were this, the invasion they effected was, to all probability, eminently independent of the movements of the Angles.

So that they were anything but members of an Angle confederacy.

Still less were they details of the Angle name. Hence—

The Gothic invasion from Gaul (if real) was eminently of the kind that has been called *concurrent*.

Until I find reasons to the contrary, I shall place the supposed Jutes of Kent in the same category with the supposed Jutes of Hampshire; holding both to be, no *Jutes*, but *Goths*.

It can easily be shown that a Gothic invasion of Britain from Gaul was both possible and probable.

A.D. 410, Alaric, who was neither Frank nor Burgundian, but a *Goth*, died, having sacked Rome for the third time and ravaged Italy. Adolphus, his successor, invades Gaul, and not only Gaul, but Spain.

A.D. 419, Goths are established in Aquitaine, which they hold until their final reduction by Clovis A.D. 508.

Britain and Armorica had become independent of Rome A.D. 409.

From A.D. 419 to A.D. 451 was the prosperous reign of the Gothic King Theodoric.

Spain, meanwhile, was more Gothic than even Gaul.

It can no more be denied that there were opportunities for a Gothic invasion of either Kent or Hants, or both, during the

first half of the fifth century, than it can be affirmed that such actually took place. There is no direct evidence either against or for this. There is, however, evidence that the Britons moved against the Goths, and what more likely than such a movement to bring on a retaliatory invasion of their own exposed coast?

A.D. 407, a private soldier named Constantine is raised to the Purple by the Legions of Britain. He attempts the reduction of Gaul. Amongst his generals we find a Nevigastes, and a Gerontius—the former with a German, the latter with a British name (Geraint, Grant). Sarus, the *Goth*, is ordered by Honorius to oppose him. *Ulphilas*, too, with his eminently Gothic name, is employed against him.

A.D. 411 Constantine dies.

There is evidence, then, during a period when evidence is pre-eminently scanty, to warlike relations between the Britons and the Gallic Goths—and this (considering the times) is as much as can be expected.

§ 118. I will now go to another series of facts.

Take the names of the first Norman Kings of England—William, Henry, Richard.

They are not Saxon—*Edward* does not come in till later.

Nor yet scriptural—*John* is the first that is so.

Nor yet French—*Charles* and *Louis* have no place in the list.

Nor yet (as might be expected) Scandinavian—*Harold*, *Olaf*, &c.

They are more Frank than aught else; but—

They are not so much Frank as they are Gothic—

Henry = Hunneric;

Richard = Reccared.

William, probably, belongs to the same class.

Now I think that two of these names appear in the earliest history of Wessex—in the earliest but not in the later—in the hypothetically Gothic period, but not in the unequivocally Saxon.

Cynric (I think) = Hunneric,

Cwichelm = William.

In *Cuth-gils* and *Cyne-gils* the final syllable is, at least, as Gothic as aught else. So is the *-fus* in *Cen-fus*.

Ceawlin and Cerdic, be it remembered, have not been recognised as historical.

Again—believing the whole story of *Vortigern* and *Vortimer* to be legend and confusion, I now ask whether these are British names at all—whether they are not rather German, and (if German) whether one, at least, is not Gothic; whether *Vortigern* is not *Fritigern*—due allowance being made for it having passed through a British or Roman-British *medium*?

Vortimer, again, is suspiciously like the Gothic *Withimer*; though not less like the Allemannic *Fraomar*. It is also like the Frank *Riotimus*.

Then, whether historical or not, we have the Kentish *Eor-menric* to compare with the Gothic *Hermanric*.

§ 119. The explanation of the word *lathe* still stands over. It is not required to be good of itself. It is only required to be good against the Jute *leding*.

Now a word nearer in form to *lathe* than *leding* is a word which we get in the Latin form *Leti*, *Læti*, *Liti*. It was a word belonging to the military nomenclature of Rome during the fourth century, as well as earlier and later. It applied to the parts opposite Britain—*viz.* Gaul and Western Germany. It denotes a certain kind of military retainers; the service which they were in being the Roman. Julian, in Ammianus (xx. 8) writes of them thus:—"Equos præbebo Hispanos, et miscendos gentilibus atque scutariis adolescentes *Lætos* quosdam, cis Rhenum editam barbarorum progeniem, vel certe ex deditiis, qui ad nostra desuescunt."

Zosimus gives the form *Λετοί*. He speaks of the emperor as being a barbarian by blood, who by residence amongst the *Λετοί*, a Gallic nation, acquired some Latin cultivation (2, 54).

Μαγνέντιος, γένος μὲν ἑλκων ἀπὸ βαρβάρων, μετοικήσας δὲ εἰς Λετοῖς, ἔθνος Γαλατικὸν, παιδείας τῆς Λατίνων μετασχών.

Belgium, Gaul, and the Rhine, being the chief localities in which they were settled, we are not surprised to find certain gentile adjectives connected with their name. The *Frank* *Læti* were settled by Maximianus, as we learn from Eumenius (*Panegyric. Constant. Cæs.* A.D. 296):—"Tuo—natu Ner-

viorum et Treverorum arva jacentia *Lætus* postliminio restitutus et receptus in leges *Francus* excoluit."

The Notitia has a long list of them—Præfectus *Lætorum* (p. 581) Teutoniciarum, Carnunto Senoniæ Lugdunensis.

Præfectus *Lætorum* Batavorum et gentilium Suevorum *Bajocas* et Constantiæ Lugdunensis secundæ (observe the word *Bajocas* = *Bayeux*).

Præfectus *Lætorum* gentilium Suevorum, Cenomannos Lugdunensis tertiæ.

Præfectus *Lætorum Francorum*, Redonas Lugdunensis tertiæ.

Præfectus *Lætorum* Lingonensium, per diversa dispersorum Belgicæ primæ.

Præfectus *Lætorum* Actorum, Epuso Belgicæ primæ.

Præfectus *Lætorum* Nerviorum Fanomartis Belgicæ secundæ.

Præfectus *Lætorum* Batavorum Nemetacensium, Atrebatis Belgicæ secundæ.

Præfectus *Lætorum* Batavorum Contraginensium Noviomago Belgicæ secundæ.

Præfectus *Lætorum* gentilium Remos et Silvanectas Belgicæ secundæ.

Præfectus *Lætorum* Lagensium, prope Tungros Germaniæ secundæ.

Præfectus *Lætorum* gentilium Suevorum, Arvernos Aquitanicæ primæ.

In this list we find the numerous genitive cases take two forms—one in *-nsium*, and one in *-orum*. The former seems to denote the particular head-quarters, the latter the nation, of the different *Let* companies, or colonies. Of these it may be remarked that the former are Gallic rather than German, the latter German rather than Gallic; so that the general view of the *Læti* is that they were German settlers on Keltic soil.

Zeuss (*v. Leti*) to whom all the texts that have been laid before the reader are due, concludes with a notice touching the question of the Kentish *lathes* most closely. The Theodosian Code states "That the lands appointed to the *Læti*, who were removed to them, were called *terræ Læticiæ*."

Such a word, then, as *lathe* may have grown out of [*terra*]

Lætica, such a [*terra*] *Lætica* having previously grown out of *Læti*.

That there were *Læti* and [*terræ*] *Lætica*, and possibly *lathe* in Romano-Keltic Gaul, has been shown abundantly. That these were the same in the Romano-Keltic Britain (especially in the parts nearest Gaul) is probable. At any rate the Kentish *lathe* is the Germano-Gallic *Læt*. rather than the Jute *led-ing*.

At the same time the *Notitia* gives no *Læti* to Britain: a fact which may be considered conclusive against there having been any there when that document was composed. But the latest date of the *Notitia* is A.D. 408; previous to the disturbances that so broke up the Roman Empire in Gaul. Pending these, the system of *Læti* may have been extended across the Channel from *Bayeux* or *Artois* (*Bajocas* and *Atrebates*) to *Dover*, *Lymne*, or *Richborough* (*Dubris*, *Lemanis*, *Rutupium*); from one portion of the *Litus Saxonicum* to another.

At any rate the present etymology is good against the Jute one.

§ 120. *The Frank complication* — *Hampshire, Gothic; Kent, Frank*. It has been shown that the *Læti* were Germans. But it has not been shown that they were *Gothic* Germans. Yet this is required by our hypothesis—in its present form, at least.

Can it be done? What say the previous extracts? It cannot be said that they say much in favour of the Gothic division of the Germans being the one to which the *Læti* were peculiar. Perhaps, it may be said that they are adverse rather than favourable to this view. They are so. If the particular division of the Germans to which the *Læti* are most particularly referred must be named, the evidence points chiefly to the *Franks*—to the Franks rather than to the *Goths*.

If so, the suggested explanation of the word *lathe* proves too much. It proves not that the *Jutes* were *Goths*, but that the *Jutes* were *Franks*. Nor is it the only word that points in this direction. *Vortimer* was fully as Frank as it was Gothic. So, perhaps, were the rest.

This Frank character of certain words introduces a complication, and leads to the following doctrine, *viz.*:—

1. That in Hampshire the population was simply Gothic, whereas—

2. In Kent it was Gothic and Frank as well.

There is some nice balancing of facts here; inasmuch as the direct and special external evidence is more in favour of the Goths than the Franks, whilst the internal is more in favour of the Franks than the Goths. So weak, indeed, is the internal evidence in favour of these latter, that, were it not for the texts of Beda and others, the names of *Cyneric* and *Cwickhelm* would have received no notice; in other words, they would have been thought too unimportant to serve as the basis of even a suggestion. Though just more Gothic than Angle, they would never have been contrasted with the other Anglo-Saxon names if the locality to which they belonged had not previously been contrasted with the other apparently more Angle parts of Britain. So that they were simply subsidiary facts in a case resting upon other grounds. To the names *Vortimer* and *Vortigern* this appears even still more strongly. They were just considered Gothic, because the area which supplied them was possibly a Gothic one. In East Anglia, or Mercia, they would have passed in the crowd of ordinary Angle appellations.

So that, practically, it is the external evidence that assigns the Goths to Kent and Hants rather than the internal; the internal evidence merely being in favour of the *Goths* rather than the *Jutes* having supplied the true Jutnacyn and Cantuarian populations. For, upon this point, it may be said with truth, that however slight may be the value of such names as *Cyneric* and *Vortigern*, in favour of a Gothic, they are stronger than anything that can be adduced in support of a Jute, hypothesis.

The greater geographical proximity of the Goths of Gallia, as compared to that of the Jutes of Jutland, points in the same direction.

The Gothic hypothesis, then, means that the Jutnacyn and Cantuarii were Goths rather than Jute, *assuming that they were either one or the other*. This it does upon the strength of the evidence of Beda, &c., evidence which it takes as it is found. It is supposed to mean *something*, *i. e.* not to be erroneous altogether. It is supposed, too, to mean something connected with the root, *G-t* (or *J-t*); though not exactly what its author is considered to make it mean.

It is supposed to mean *something*, on the principle of not multiplying objections against the testimony and opinion of respectable writers unnecessarily. At the same time, the likelihood of its being (like *Wiht-wære*) an error altogether must be borne in mind. Hence, the Gothic hypothesis means not so much that there were absolute Goths from Gaul in Hants and Kent, as that there were *Goths or nothing*—nothing, at least, connected with the roots *G-t* and *J-t*.

If it were not for a certain amount of special and direct evidence on the part of Beda, and others, there would be no question of *Goths*.

If it were not for a certain amount of internal and circumstantial evidence, deduced from the collation of names, and scattered texts, there would be no question of *Franks*.

If either series of facts were abandoned, the question would be simple; *i. e.* one of Franks alone, or one of Goths alone.

If both are admitted, the hypothesis becomes—

1. Simply Gothic for Hampshire.

2. Frank and Gothic for Kent.

§ 121. But there are further complexities. Up to the present time, we have admitted the special and direct external evidence of Beda and others to the existence of Goths in the south of Britain *in toto*, *i. e.* as good for Kent and Hants equally. What, however, if it is to be admitted only *partially*, *i. e.* as valid for the Jutnacyn of Hants, but not as valid for the Cantuarii of Kent? In such a case our views must change, and our hypothesis (though still assuming both Franks and Goths,) becomes—

1. Simply Gothic for Hampshire; and

2. Simply Frank for Kent—simply Frank instead of Frank and Gothic.

To this doctrine I incline. The evidence as to the population of Kent being other than ordinary Angles, or Anglo-Saxons, is stronger than it is in the case of Hampshire. The evidence, however, of these same Kentish *differentiæ* being referable to a *Gothic* invasion, is weaker. On the other hand, the indications of Frank occupancy are decided in Kent, non-apparent in Hants.

In this we find a reason for *not* following Beda, &c., who

places both Kent and Hants in the same category. Indeed, we must rather charge him with an inaccuracy, slight and natural, but still an inaccuracy. That Kent and Hants had, each, certain *differentiæ*, he knew. That the same explanation served for both, he inferred. From the origin of the Jutnacyn he argued to that of the Cantwære.

Such are the two forms of the Gothic and Frank hypotheses—one making Kent Gothic as well as Frank, the other making it Frank only. I incline to the latter,—only incline.

The evidence to a Frank occupancy in Kent has already been given—in part, at least. Now—

a. Strengthen the inference (p. 162) from the contrast between the name *Kent*, on one side, and *Sus-sex*, &c., on the other, by the following fact, a fact of considerable weight against the Jute doctrine. *Saxon* was a name which a Frank population would give to its neighbours, even if they were *Angle* in the strictest sense of the term. *Angle* is the name which a Jute population would give to a Saxon. The Jutes know nothing of any Saxons. They are all Angles. The Franks know little of any Angles. They are all Saxons.* If a Jute had given a name to *Es-sex*, it would have been *East-Angle*. If a Frank had given a name to *East-Anglia*, it would have been *Es-sex*. What the Goths would have called an Angle population is uncertain.

b. The name *Hhlothære*, as that of a king of Kent, is eminently Frank, and not at all Angle.

The chief facts, however, are the word *lathe* (if the suggested etymology be correct) and the names in *-sex*.

The date of this supposed Frank settlement is uncertain.

In the Panegyric of Mamertinus on the Emperor Maximian, one of the emperors who shared the divided power of Diocletian, we find the following extract, which gives us an army of Franks in the City of London, as early as A.D. 296. It is a passage of which too little notice has, hitherto, been taken:—"By so thorough a consent of the Immortal Gods, O unconquered Cæsar, has the extermination of all the enemies, whom you have attacked, *and of the Franks more especially*, been

* This assumes that the name in *-sex* (*Sus-sex*, &c.) originated in Kent. (See p. 162.)

decreed, that even those of your soldiers, who, having missed their way on a foggy sea, reached the town of London, destroyed promiscuously and throughout the city the whole remains of that mercenary multitude of barbarians, that, after escaping the battle, sacking the town, and, attempting flight, was still left—a deed, whereby your provincials were not only saved, but delighted by the sight of the slaughter.”

Was Kent the only Frank locality? Probably not. There is evidence to the presence of *Alemanni* in Britain A.D. 372. These may have been Franks under another name. At any rate, they were a closely-allied population. Valentinian, writes Ammianus Marcellinus, placed Fraomarius as king over the Buccinobantes, a nation of the Alemanni, near Mentz. Soon afterwards, however, an attack upon his people devastated their country. He was then translated to Britain, and placed over the Alemanni, “*at that time flourishing both in numbers and power, as tribune.*”

There was an Alemannic king, Eroc, mentioned by Ammianus also.

§ 122. The term *hypothesis* shows that the doctrine of the present chapter is a suggestion rather than an admitted fact. Whether it will receive further confirmation is uncertain. The Frank Code of Laws, minutely criticised, promises most. The possible confirmation of the Gothic hypothesis for Hampshire is more obscure. Nevertheless, it may, perhaps, sooner or later, be effected. If this be the case, an amount of conjecture, now inadmissible, may become legitimate, and some of the names which now sound strange may be restored to their probably original forms—those forms being Gothic; Gothic, but distorted by having passed through a British medium. At present, I doubt whether *Stuf* and *Wihtgar* are the names of historical personages at all; the latter more especially. If, however, they be, it is in the Gothic that their proper forms are to be sought. Herein, the former may be *Astolf*, the latter *Wittich* (*Vitiges*).

Another point in the minute history of what is conveniently called Roman Britain, but which is more properly Britain during a transition period from Romano-Britannic to German, is the history of the usurpers of the latter part of the Western Empire. Some were, undoubtedly, German. *Tetricus*,

for instance, whose name I believe to have been the German *Diedrich*, was one such. Respecting him we get the following inscription found at Bittern (the ancient Clausentum) near Southampton. (*Monumenta Britannica*, No. 276.)

IMP . C . C

POTESVIO . (?)

TETRICO

P . E . A . G.

Date between A.D. 267 and A.D. 274—too early for the Goths Proper, but not too early for other German supporters.

Mention of a *Dalmata Marca* (*Dalmatian March*) on the Western coast of Gaul is made in the *Notitia*. Whether the *Dalmatians* of this same *March* were German or not is unimportant. Perhaps, they were absolutely Goths. Perhaps, they were no Germans at all, but Slavonians. At the same time, whatever they were, they were on a German frontier, and a German frontier that supplied the eminently and characteristically German word *March*.

Note.—In looking back, I find that an argument in favour of the Keltic character of the names *Vortimer* and *Vortigern* has been kept back. It is to the effect that the syllable *Vor* = *Mawr*, *môr* = *great*. Then (in one of the cases), as *-teyrn* = *king* or *chief*, *Vor-tigern* = *the Great Chief*.

Valeat quantum.—The modern British for such a combination would be, not *mawr teyrn*, but *teyrn mawr*.

I may also add that *Vortimer* and *Vortigern* are not the only names of chieftains who are, in my eyes, German rather than British—though stated to be British rather than German.

The following extract is from Jornandes:—"Euricus ergo Vesegothorum rex crebram mutationem Romanorum principum cernens, Gallias suo jure nisus est occupare. Quod comperiens Anthemius imperator, protinus solatia Britonum postulavit. Quorum rex *Riothimus* cum xii. millibus veniens in Biturigas civitatem oceano, e navibus egressus, susceptus est. Ad quos rex Vesegothorum Euricus innumerum ductans exercitum advenit, diuque pugnans *Riothimum* Britonum regem, antequam Romani in ejus societate, superavit. Qui amplâ parte exercitus amissâ, cum quibus potuit fugiens, ad *Bur-*

gundionum gentem vicinam, Romanis in eo tempore foederatam, advenit.—*Jornandes, De Rebus Geticis*, c. 11.

A German is more likely to take refuge amongst the Burgundians than a Briton. But this is not all. In the middle of the fifth century (*i. e.* the time of Hengest and Vortigern), a king from Britain, with a name so like *Vortimer* as *Riothimus*, is fighting against a population with a name so like *Jute* as *Goth*.

Such is a sketch of my reasons for holding that as early as the middle of the *third* century, Germans other than either Anglo-Saxons or Jutes of Jutland had effected settlements in Hants and Kent—under the names of Franks, Alemanni, and Goths;

That in some cases these Franks, Alemanni, and Goths, so far comported themselves as Britons or Romans as to defend the soil against the true *Anglo-Saxon* invaders;

That the influence of these *non-Angle* Germans has in no case been sufficient to preponderate over that of the Anglo-Saxons; *i. e.* that it has, in no case, given us absolute Frank, Alemann, or Goth districts as opposed to the English;

But that it has determined, and that it does explain, certain *minor* points of difference between such localities and the rest of England, especially in the county Kent.

Of such German populations, chiefly consisting of Kentish (Cantian, or Cantuarian) Læti, I believe Vortigern and Vortimer (truly historical personages) to have been chiefs—German, not British—German chiefs, more or less, perhaps, wedded to the British soil, and more or less British or Romano-Britannic in nationality, but still German.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCURRENT OR CONFEDERATE INVASIONS. — THE FRISIANS.

§ 123. THAT neither the Gothic nor Frank Germans were a detail of the Angle name, is beyond question. They were no *subordinates*, as the proposed term is.

That they were not *confederate* is, by no means, so certain. There is no reason, however, for believing them to have been such.

As far, then, as our knowledge goes, the invasion that they effected was of the kind called *concurrent*—*i. e.* it was independent, but directed towards the same results, *viz.* the displacement of a Keltic, and the substitution of a German form of speech in Britain.

Whether this were the case with the population now coming under notice is uncertain.

This population is the *Frisian*, allied to the Angle, or Anglo-Saxon, but, still, different; no portion of the Angle name, but rather a name which was, itself, substantive, separate, and independent.

Whether, however, such Frisian descents as may reasonably be supposed to have taken place were simply concurrent, or concurrent and confederate as well, is doubtful. I name them “concurrent *or* confederate.”

Respecting the Frisians, Lappenberg writes that “It is hardly probable that, in those days of national migrations and military services, so splendid an enterprise as the conquest of Britain should not have allured many bands from the kindred tribes of Germany: these, however, were not, it seems, sufficiently numerous to claim notice in the most authentic narratives. Frisians, on account of their proximity, their skill in seamanship, their language so nearly resembling the Anglo-Saxon, and the traditions already mentioned, we might expect

to meet with before all others; but from affinity of language, however, no inference is to be drawn, as it would tend to the exclusion of the remoter German races; nor should too much importance be attached to such words as *seax*, the long knife of the Saxons, from which they are supposed to have derived their name, and which was common also to the Frisians, and is still to be met with in that country, as on the same ground the Icelanders must also be considered as Saxons. Even the striking similitude between the old Frisic and the Anglo-Saxon public and private law, although affording the most decisive testimony as to the relationship of the two nations, does not allow us to make any further inference with regard to Britain; more especially as our oldest accounts of the Frisians are too defective to enable us to ascertain what influence the connection with the Anglo-Saxons and the migration of the latter may have had on the tribes of Friesland. The assertion of Procopius that Angles and Frisians dwelt on the isle of *Brittia*, notwithstanding the fables in the rest of the narrative, appears credible on account of its antiquity and other circumstances to be discussed hereafter. Later testimonies show with greater certainty the existence of the descendants of Frisic forefathers in England, but do not prove the establishment of any state or considerable settlement of that people in the country."

The traditions to which Lappenberg alludes lie in a claim put in by the Frisians for Hengest having been one of their countrymen. For these see Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 79, with notes of both the original author and his translator. Neither seems to lay much stress on them. They first appear in a writer of the tenth (?) century named Ocka Scharlensis.

Not having seen the work of Ocka, I am unable to go into the criticism of the tradition. The note, however, of Mr. Thorpe, supplies two suggestive names, *viz.* that of *Odilbalt*, and that of *Gormund*. Name for name, these are *Æthelbald* and *Wærmund*—names belonging to Angle and Danish history, or if not to Angle and Danish *history*, to that cycle of legend which simulates it.

It is sufficient, however, to remark, that the fact of there having been Frisians in England, by no means depends upon Hengest having been one of them.

In the genealogies ; Fin, the son of Folcwalda (Fin, Folcwalding), is the king of the Frisians.

§ 124. The statement of Procopius is that “ three numerous nations inhabit Bretha, the Angles, the Frisians, and the Britons.”

“ Βριττίαν δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἔθνη τρία πολυανθρωπότατα ἔχουσι, βασιλεὺς τε εἰς αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ ἐφέστηκεν, ὀνόματα δὲ κεῖται τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις Ἀγγίλοι τε καὶ Φρίσσονες καὶ οἱ τῇ νήσῳ ὁμώνυμοι Βρίττωνες. Τοσαύτη δὲ ἡ τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται οὕσα ὥστε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐνθένδε μετανιστάμενοι ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν εἰς Φράγγους χώρουσιν.—Procop. B. G. iv. 20.

The extent to which this applies to Britain has been already considered (pp. 66, 67). It is difficult to give its true application here. Upon the whole, however, I refer it to Britain.

§ 125. The term “later testimonies” probably means the following passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:—“That same year,* the armies from among the East-Anglians, and from among the North-Humbrians, harassed the land of the West-Saxons chiefly, most of all by their *æscs*, which they had built many years before. Then King Alfred commanded long ships to be built to oppose the *æscs*; they were full-nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, and some had more; they were both swifter and steadier, and also higher than the others. They were shapen neither like the Frisian nor the Danish, but so as it seemed to him that they would be most efficient. Then some time in the same year, there came six ships to Wight, and there did much harm, as well as in Devon, and elsewhere along the sea-coast. Then the king commanded nine of the new ships to go thither, and they obstructed their passage from the port towards the outer sea. Then went they with three of their ships out against them; and three lay in the upper part of the port in the dry; the men were gone from them ashore. Then took they two of the three ships at the outer part of the port, and killed the men, and the other ship escaped; in that also the men were killed except five; they got away because the other ships were aground. They also were aground very disadvantageously, three lay aground on that side of the deep on which the Danish ships were aground, and all the rest upon the other side, so that no one of them could get to the others.

* A.D. 897.

But when the water had ebbed many furlongs from the ships, the Danish men went from their three ships to the other three which were left by the tide on their side, and then they there fought against them. There was slain Lucumon the king's reeve, and Wulfheard the Frisian, and Æbbe the Frisian, and Æthelhere the Frisian, and Æthelferth the king's *geneat*, and of all the men, Frisians and English, seventy-two; and of the Danish men one hundred and twenty."

In the life of St. Swibert we have the following passage:—"Egbertus sitiens salutem *Frisionum* et Saxonum, eo quod Angli ab *eis* propagati sunt."—See *Lappenberg*, vol. i. p. 99.]

The word *eis*, here, appears to apply to the Frisians and Saxons collectively. The passage, however, is not a very important one.

§ 126. *Details of the Frisian name—Chauci or Hocings.*—With the Carlovingian writers, at least, the Frisian name included something beyond the Frisians Proper, or the Frisians in the strictest sense of the term. The *Chauci* were a detail of it.

Apparently, this name belongs to the classical period only, being lost when we approach the Carlovingian times. But it is only apparently. Its German form is *Hoc-ing*; at least, such is the reasonable opinion of the majority of investigators—the *-ing* being a gentile termination, and, as such, no original part of the word. As to the change from *Ch-*, to *H-* it creates no difficulty. It is the same which occurs in *Chatti* and *Hessi*. In *Attuarii*, as compared with *Chattuarii*, it disappears altogether. Now the *Hocings* have a prominent position in the earliest Frisian history; or if not in the earliest Frisian history, in that cycle of legend which simulates it. Hildeburh, the Queen of Fin, the Frisian, is a *Hoc-ing*. Her son is *Hnæf* the *Eponymus* of *Hanover*.

§ 127. *The Frisians as confederates.*—How far the Frisian descents upon Britain (for such it seems there were) were concurrent or confederate, is doubtful.—See § 123.

Consider them to have been confederate, and a new question presents itself: the Frisian area was a large one. It was remarkable, too, for its outline and direction. It extended as far South as the Rhine, and as far North as the frontier of Jutland.

It touched the Franks at one end; the Danes at the other. One of its sides was bounded by the ocean; the other by the Angles. What we call the *German Ocean* was called by the Carolingians and their contemporaries the *Frisian Sea* (*Mare Fresicum*). For further details see Chapter X., special attention being directed to the *North-Frisian* area.

Supposing, then, the Frisians to have effected *some* of their descents as *confederates*, the population to which they were attached may have varied on the frontier. Thus—

1. In the North the confederacy may have been *Dano-Frisian*, consisting of Frisians and Jutes.

2. In the South it may have been *Franco-Frisian*, consisting of Frisians and Franks.

3. In the intermediate parts it may have been *Anglo-Frisian*, consisting of Frisians and Angles.

Let us now look to the internal evidence of Frisian occupancy in England.

1. The parts where we find the closest approach to the Frisian form in *-um* is the* fenny district of Holderness, opposite Friesland, and, like Friesland, low, alluvial, and moist.

2. The compounds of *Fris-* are numerous; it being reasonable to believe that this syllable means *Frisian*. And we have it in two forms—

a. The Angle form in *-ton* as *Fries-ton*, and—

b. The Danish form in *-by*, as *Fris-by*.

* *Rysom* and *Hollym* occur here; the *om* and *ym*, however, are, probably, *holm* rather than *hám*.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SUEVI OF SWABIA, ETC.—WHAT WAS THEIR RELATION
TO THE ANGLES?

§ 128. To the reader whose interest is chiefly concentrated upon the history of the English Language, *within the realm of England*, the present Chapter, along with the two which follow, will appear more or less episodical; partaking of the nature of interpolations, and interrupting the continuity of the investigation. And this, to some extent, is the case. It is a point connected with the Angles of *Germany* rather than of *Britain*, to which the present remarks more especially apply.

Hence, the perusal of the chapters in question may be deferred until the remainder of Part I. has been studied.

The name *Suevi* introduces a complication.

Suevi is the name of the occupants of *Suevia*; and *Suevia* is the modern name *Suabia*, *Schwaben*, or *Schwaben-land* in an older form. Now the modern Suabia lies far away from the Lower, far away from even the Middle, Elbe. It lies on the Upper Rhine, a locality as little *Angle* or *Angli-form* as any in all Germany.

Looking at these localities alone, it is clear that no two words are less likely to be equivalent than *Suevus* and *Anglus*, Σουήβος and Ἀγγεῖλος, *Schwab* and *Angle*.

We have seen, however (in p. 68), how they occur in Ptolemy. They occur, not as the names of two distinct populations, but either as synonyms or as terms indicative of *genus* and *species*; *Suevus* being the name for the class, *Anglus* for a particular division of it.

§ 129. And this is what Tacitus suggests:—"Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Chattorum Tenc-terorumve, gens: majorem enim Germaniæ partem obtinent,

propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune *Suevi* vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem, nodoque substringere. Sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis: sic Suevorum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus, seu cognatione aliquâ Suevorum, seu (quod sæpe accidit) imitatione, rarum et intra juventæ spatium; apud Suevos, usque ad canitiem, horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac sæpe in ipso solo vertice religant: principes et ornatiorem habent: ea cura formæ, sed innoxia. Neque enim ut ament amenturve; in altitudinem quamdam et terrorem, adituri bella, compti, ut hostium oculis, ornantur."

"Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum Semnones memorant. Fides antiquitatis, religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam, auguriis patrum et priscâ formidine sacram, omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, cæsoque publicè homine celebrant barbari ritûs horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia. Nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor, et potestatem numinis præ se ferens: si fortè prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur: eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tanquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subjecta atque parentia. Adjicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum: centum pagis habitantur: magnoque corpore efficitur, ut se Suevorum caput credant."

From the Suevian Semnones he passes to the Langobardi, and from the Langobardi to the Angli, &c. "Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat," &c. (as in p. 60).

The section that follows begins—"Et hæc quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora Germaniæ porrigitur."

The whole of these notices should be taken together, the context being fully as important as the simple texts.

The Langobards are certainly in the same category with the Semnones—the Semnones, who are "the head of the Suevi. On the other hand, the Lombards," &c.

"Reudigni deinde," &c., and, then, "hæc pars Suevorum."

Tacitus' *Suevi*, then, are anything but the occupants of modern Suabia.

Neither are wholly unconnected with the Angli; though the connection is got at by a somewhat indirect method.

§ 130. Both these points, *viz.* the difference between the ancient *Suevia* and the modern *Suabia*, and the Angle affinities take prominence and definitude in Ptolemy; the extract from this author already alluded to running thus—"Of the nations lying inland and midland, the greatest are those of the *Suab Angles* (Σουήβων τῶν Ἀγγειλῶν) who lie east of the Lango-bards, stretching northwards to the middle of the river Elbe, and those of the *Suab Semnones*, who come afterwards on the Elbe, and reach from the parts aforesaid as far as the river *Suēbus*, and the country of the Buguntæ, and so on to the Vistula."

Upon the whole the statements of Ptolemy and Tacitus coincide.

§ 131. *The Suabians High-German.*—We must now anticipate a little. Except in the way of an incidental notice nothing has yet been said respecting different divisions of the German language into dialects; nothing concerning such words as High-German, Low-German, and Mæso-Gothic. Yet such words will soon become conspicuous, and the distribution of the different forms of the German language into different groups of dialects will be made.

Now when this has been done, no two varieties of the German tongue will stand further apart than the Suabian, and the Angle. It is evident that this difference of dialect increases the complication engendered by the difference of locality.

A migration is not enough. Whether we assume a movement of the Angle Suevi from Suabia, or one of the Suabian Suevi from the Angle country, or deduce both from some intermediate area, we must assume a change of dialect as well. Zeuss does this; and deriving, more or less, the Suabians from the ancestors of the English, believes that the former took a High-German dialect in place of their own. Otherwise we may presume, that *English* would be spoken at the present moment in Baden and Württemberg,—nay, possibly in Switzerland, and Bavaria.

A migration, then, *plus* a change of dialect, is the hypothesis. Zeuss' view, that the Suevi of what was afterwards Suabia were in the same category with the Angles, who were afterwards Englishmen, is legitimate, however composite may be the character of the phenomena implied by the identity, and however much

we must make a *double* assumption—first of a long migration, next of a change of dialect. If this be granted, what follows? That the Angles were what the Suabian descendants of the Suevi were, viz. High-Germans, or, that the Suevi were originally Angle or English, as Zeuss suggests? There must have been change on one side. Why upon that of the Suevi of Suabia? Originally they were—by hypothesis—what is called Low-German in speech. They change to High-Germans. But why may not the change have been with the Angles? They, it may have been, who adopted a new dialect. High-Germans once, they may have become Low-German subsequently.

I submit that this is an open question; but as my own view is different from either of the ones suggested by the previous alternative, I pass to another portion of the subject.

§ 132. Supposing a migration from the Elbe to the Rhine, from the district of the Suevi of Tacitus and Ptolemy to Suabia, to have actually taken place, what is the *date* of it? Niebuhr mentions an inscription noticing a *Victoria Suevica* in the reign of *Nerva*. But there is no evidence of this having been a victory over the *Suevi* of *Suabia*. Cæsar's victory over the *Suevi* of Ariovistus was a *Victoria Suevica*, but no victory over the people of the *Decumates agri*, or Modern *Suabia*.

On the other hand the *Decumates Agri* had become *Suevic* by the reign of Alexander Severus (ending A.D. 235)—the *Tabula Pentingeriana* being supposed to be referable to that date. Therein, ALAMANNIA and SUEVIA appear together—as terms for that part of Germany which had previously gone under the name of *Decumates agri*, and the parts about the *Limes Romanus*.

With this, then, begins the history of the *Suevi* of *Suabia*, or, rather, of the *Suabians*. Their alliances were chiefly with the Alamanni and Burgundians; their theatre the German side of France, Switzerland, Italy, and (in conjunction with the Visigoths) Spain. Their epoch is from the reign of Alexander to that of Augustulus; in round numbers, from about A.D. 225 to A.D. 475, a period of two hundred and fifty years.

Their *maximum* amount of historical prominence was the time when Ricimer the *Suevian*, and Gundobald the *Burgun-*

dian, made and unmade such emperors as Severus and Olybrius, the immediate predecessors of Augustulus.

The history, then, of these *Suevi* is as little Angle as their dialect and locality.

§ 133. Nevertheless, there may have been the migration and change of dialect alluded to.

Now, although migrations are never to be assumed unnecessarily, the case of the *Suevi* is a peculiar one. It is peculiar because, if we admit a certain etymology, we get a reason for making them not only as migratory as the other Germans in general, but *more so*. The name, say several respectable German scholars, means *migrant*—*Swabe* in Middle High-German; *Suâpa*, Old High-German; *Svæfas*, Anglo-Saxon, are derived from the root *swiban* = *sway*, *move unsteadily*; and, hence, *Suevi* (or *Suebi*) is the designation of a people of unsteady migratory habits—" *unstäten (schwebenden) Lebensweise*."—Zeuss, p. 56.

It cannot be denied that the passage of Strabo confirms this view:—

Κοινὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἅπασιν τοῖς ταύτῃ τὸ περὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις εὐμαρὲς, διὰ τὴν λιτότητα τοῦ βίου καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ γεωργεῖν, μηδὲ θησαυρίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλυβίοις οἰκεῖν ἐφήμερον ἔχουσι παρασκευήν· τροφή δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἢ πλείστη, καθάπου τοῖς Νομάσιν· ὥστ' ἐκείνους μιμούμενοι, τὰ οἰκεία ταῖς ἀρμαμάξαις ἐπάραντες, ὅποι ἂν δόξῃ, τρέπονται μετὰ τῶν βοσκημάτων.

Still, I think it unsatisfactory or, at any rate, inconclusive.

Strabo's previous notice of the *Suevi* was to the effect that they extended from the Rhine to the Elbe; some of them lying beyond that river; his text, or that of his authorities, being, probably, the basis of the statements both of Tacitus and Ptolemy.

§ 134. *Hypothesis as to origin of the name*.—The more I consider the difficulties connected with the word, the more I become satisfied that the criticism which applied to the word *Saxon*, applies to the word *Suevi* also; so that the conclusion to which I come is that it was no *native* name at all for any population, either Angle, or akin to the Angles. I hold, indeed, that *originally* it was not native to any German population; although to certain German populations it, undoubtedly, came afterwards, to be applied.

I think the language from which the Romans took it was the Keltic of Gaul.

It is in Cæsar that we first find it; but it has long been held, and that on reasonable grounds, that a great deal which that writer says about the *Suevi* applies to the population which, soon afterwards, takes a prominent place in history, under the name of *Chatti*. Grimm, who, as a Hessian, (*Hesse* being but the modern and *High-German* form of *Chatti*,) has entered upon the minute ethnology of his native country, *con amore*, adopts this view, and adds some new and interesting observations confirmatory of it.

The ordinary reasoning, however, is based upon the—

a. Absence of the name *Chatti* in the *Bellum Gallicum*: though they were the people most immediately in contact with Gaul.

b. The history of the war with Ariovistus.

c. The magnitude of the two populations; each requiring too large an area to be in juxtaposition with one another within the assignable limits.

d. The absence of the evidence of any considerable movements in the way of conquest or migration between the times of Cæsar and Strabo, this latter writer mentioning the *Chatti*.

Then comes the question *why* Cæsar called the *Chatti Suevi*; the answer being twofold. The name may have changed in the interval; either by the preponderance of a different branch of the Confederation, or by some other means.

The two names may have belonged to different languages, and *Suev-* have been the one by which the *Chatti* were known to Cæsar's informants, the Gauls; just as the *Kymry* are known to the English by the name of Welsh.

The latter view is the one adopted. That *Suevi* was the Gallic name of the Germans of the Middle Rhine, I feel certain. Whether it was exclusively Gallic, *i. e.* foreign to these same Germans themselves, requires further investigation.

The strongest argument against this view lies in the name *Suevia*. It goes back to the reign of Alexander Severus, at least, perhaps further. Before then we hear of *Suevi*, but their locality is not *Suabia*.

What does this prove? That *Suev-* was a German name

previously? By no means. It merely proves that a certain area was called by the Romans after a population named *Suevi*, and that certain Germans who settled there took their name from the area. Kent, at the present moment, is English, and the *Kent-ings* who occupied part of it during the Anglo-Saxon period were English. But does this make Kent an English word? No. It is British = *Cant-ium*, as is well known.

Up, then, to the reign of Alexander Severus, the known facts are quite as much against *Suev-* being a German root as in favour of it. Cæsar's *Suevi* are described by Gauls, and Tacitus' are in a locality which at one and the same time is different from Cæsar's, and *Slavonic*. No one, who has realised the extent to which national names vary with the language of the informants, will say that the root *Suev-*, as applied to the subjects of Ariovistus, may not be as *exclusively* Gallic, as the word *Welsh* is *exclusively* German.

Hence, up to the time in question, *Suevia* is simply the name of the country of a population that the Romans and Kelts called *Suevi*—a population which need not even be German. Still less, need they have necessarily called themselves *Suev-*.

It is only when we find an undoubtedly German population in this country of *Suevia* calling themselves *Suevi*, that the reasons in favour of its *native* origin begin to preponderate; since the indigenous use of the name at one time is strong *primâ facie* evidence of its indigenous use at another. It is not, however, conclusive.

It is not a question whether certain populations called *Suevi* were Germans, but whether such Germans called themselves *Suevi*.

It is not a question whether the root *Suev-* was Keltic or not. It is known to have been so. Neither can there be *much* doubt about its having been from the Gauls that the Romans took it: since it was Gauls from whom Cæsar learned the names of the allies and subjects of Ariovistus.

The only doubt is about its having been *exclusively* Keltic, or, if not exclusively Keltic, other than German. Now:—

a. The term was *general*. This we learn from Tacitus himself.

b. The same Tacitus tells us that a general name for the Germans collectively was long wanting, and that the name *German* itself was recent.

c. The same Tacitus, who places the *Chatti* in Cæsar's locality for the Suevi, places the Suevi further east.

A migration will, of course, explain this; but it has already been stated that there is no evidence of one; besides which Tacitus is not the first author who carries his Suevi to the East of the Chatti. Strabo does so too; and Strabo lived under the reign of Augustus—Julius Cæsar's successor. So that there is not only no evidence to a migration, but very little time for one.

The doctrine that the two words are synonymous is the simpler. Nothing, however, better accounts for the existence of a synonym than a second language, especially when that second language (like the Keltic of Gaul in the present question) is no fiction, but a reality.

Were the Germans the only population thus designated by the Kelts? I think not. I think that it was applied to such *Slavonic* populations as came in contact with the Gauls, as well as to certain Germans who did so. More than this, I think that it was to a *Slavonic* frontier that it was applied originally, and in the first instance. If this be true more than one difficulty finds its solution.

In the first place, we can account for so many Slavonic populations being designated as *Suevi*.

In the second, we find a plausible origin for the word itself.

The phonetic systems of the Slavonic and the Keltic, each so peculiar, are sufficiently different to make such a root as *Serb*, *Sorb*, or *Serv*, the native designation of the Slavonians, take, in the mouth of a Gaul, the form *Suav*, *Suab*, or *Suev*.

The evidence that, at some early period, the Slavonic and Keltic areas met is too lengthy, as well as too indirect in its character, to find place here. It forms part, however, of the third Preliminary Dissertation.

We may, then, treat the Angli as if there had been nothing said about their relations to the *Suevi*—so indefinite is the latter name.

§ 135. *Suevi Transbadani*, &c.—I now notice two Suabian settlements of a later period than that of the Suevi of either Tacitus or Ptolemy.

a. Not far from the Harte-go, was a Suevo-go (*pagus Suevorum*), said to have been settled by the Frank King Sigebert, in the time of Alboin, King of the Lombards. *Suevi Transbadani*, or *Suevi* beyond the river *Bode*, was a designation of these colonists—" *Suevi vero Transbadani* illam quam incolunt regionem eo tempore invasere quo Saxones cum Langobardis Italiam adiere."—*Witekind of Corvey*, i. p. 634.

b. Then there were the *Norsavi* or *Nordosquavi*, more correctly *Nordsuavi*, or *Suevi of the North*. These are mentioned in an Epistle of King Theodobert to the Emperor Justinian—"subactis Thuringis *Norsavorum* gentis nobis placata majestas colla subdidit." Again, in the *Annales Mettenses* ad an. 748—"Pippinus adunato exercitu per Thuringiam in Saxoniam veniens fines *Saxonum*, quos *Nordosquavos* vocant, cum valida manu intravit. Ibique duces gentis asperæ Sclavorum in occursum ejus venerunt, unanimiter auxilium illi contra Saxones ferre parati, pugnatore quasi centum millia. *Saxones* vero, qui *Nordosquavi* vocantur, sub suam ditionem subactos contritosque subegit."—*Pertz*. i. 330.

Now Zeuss identifies these *Nordsuavi* with the *Suevi Transbadani*; and, for some time, I followed his view. But a little consideration will show that it by no means follows, that because the *Suevi Transbadani* were *Suevi* in the *North* they were, therefore, the *Nordsuavi*.

A Lincolnshire colony in the East Riding of Yorkshire would certainly be Englishmen *North of the Humber*, yet they would not be *North-umbrians*.

I am induced to draw the distinction from the following facts:—

a. All the extracts in Zeuss—the ones on which all my knowledge of the subject rests—call those *Suevi* of whose colonial character there is the clearest evidence, not *Nordsuavi*, but simply *Suevi*.

b. The *Nord-suavi* are spoken of as a *gens*.

This seems a sufficient reason for disconnecting—

a. The *Suevi* of the settlement founded in Alboin's time from the—

b. *Nord-suavi* of the *gens*, conquered by Theodobert.

The former were certainly settlers in one part of Germany transplanted from another. They were also, according to the evidence, other than Saxon.

The latter were *Saxons*, and probably *in situ*.

§136. *The Angli and Werini of the Lex Anglorum, &c.* The heading of a code of laws runs thus:—" *Incipit lex Anglorum et Werinorum, hoc est Thuringorum.*" It is to be found in Canciani (*Leges Barbarorum*), where it may be compared with the Anglo-Saxon Laws (so-called) of England. It is too short to give us much. Nevertheless, as far as it goes, it is *English*. It gives us, for instance, the word *Adaling-us* = *Ætheling*, a word upon which Lappenberg lays great stress, pointing out its appearance in the word *Telling-städt* in Dithmarsh, originally *Etheling-stede*.

Then the wergild of a freeman is fixed at two hundred shillings in both codes, *i. e.* the Anglo-Saxon of England, and the Anglo-Werinian; though its *proportion* to the other fines or forfeits is not the same. This Lappenberg accounts for by supposing that the conquest of England altered the relations of some of the grades of Angle society to each other, partially changing the terms by which they were denoted.—Vol. i. p. 93.

Again—the valuation of the different kinds of bodily injuries is alike.

The Anglo-Werinian Code, then, was Angle, Anglo-Saxon, or English.

But who were the *Werini*? Doubtless descendants of the *Varni* of Procopius, the *Varini* of Tacitus, and the *Werns* of the Traveller's Song, over whom Billing ruled—no Germans of Hanover, but Slavonians of Mecklenburg.

And how come they to be called Thuringian (*hoc est Thuringorum*)? I submit that the translation of the heading is not—"Here beginneth the Law of the Angles and Werini, that is, the Thuringians," but—

"Here beginneth the Law of the Angles and Werini, that is, of the Angles and Werini of Thuringia."

This difference is, by no means, unimportant ; inasmuch as one makes them Thuringians, which neither an Angle nor a Werinian could well have been, the other only makes them settlers in Thuringia, which either, or both, may easily have been.

Settlers, or colonists, they most probably were ; though the fact is by no means sure. The whole of the Saxon and Thuringian frontier was, more or less, distributed amongst recent occupants—Frisians, Suevi (as we have already seen), and Angles, and Werini, as we see now.

The connection of the names, *Angle* and *Werini*, is important from its supplying us with an instance of a political relation between a German and a Slavonic population. Not that such instances are really wanted, but because writers are unwilling to admit them. The whole history of the Goths and Vandals is a history of this kind, and it is nothing but the blinking of the difficulties that attend all efforts to make the root *V-nd* other than a German designation of a Slavonic people, combined with the tendency to exaggerate the magnitude of everything German, that prevents it being recognised as such.

This has been noticed partly as a point of general criticism, partly with a view to a suggested Slavono-German union, in the next chapter.

Note.—From a note of Lappenberg's, to which his translator reasonably demurs (vol. i. p. 90), I find that Dahlmann proposes to read "*Angliorum Etverinorum* or *Hetverinorum*," instead of "*Angliorum et Werinorum*."

Without knowing the reasons that support this change, I cannot, at once, condemn it. It seems, however, both illegitimate and unnecessary. It seems illegitimate, because no terms should be less tampered with than geographical names ; which, as a general rule, are so little explained by the context as to give us a question of *letters* rather than of *words*. A proper name, in many cases, can as little be collected from the words which precede and follow it, as the unmeaning combination which forms a chorus can be collected from the words in the body of the song.

To prefer one reading to another because it will give us cer-

tain results is to argue in a circle, *i. e.* to infer the reading from the result, and the result from the reading.

It seems unnecessary (indeed it increases the difficulty of the passage), because, instead of simply *connecting* the two populations whom Tacitus, Procopius, and other authors have connected already, it *identifies* them. Now there is no ground for doing this. The *Hetvære* were, undoubtedly, a real population, though it is by no means certain that *Hetverini* is the proper derivative from that name. They occupied the banks of the Roer, and the parts about Limburg. They appear in Beowulf and the Traveller's Song, and that in an important passage illustrative of another in Gregory of Tours. Finally, they appear in a writer so early as Velleius Paterculus as *Attuarii* (*Chatt-uarii*); as also (later) in Ammianus Marcellinus. In the Carolingian times we hear of a *pagus* and *comitatus* of the *Hattuarii*, *Hazzoarii*, *Hettera*, &c.

They were as undoubtedly a population that came in contact with certain Angles; at least so runs the evidence of Gregory. The king, whose son was the hero of the great Angle epic, Beowulf, bore a name the form of which was—

In Angle, *Higelac*;

In Icelandic, *Hugleikr*;

In Latin, *Chochilaichus*—

being variously called, a Dane, a Geat, and an Angle.

His descent upon one of the *pagi* of King Theoderic is thus mentioned:—"His ita gestis Dani cum rege suo, nomine *Chochilaicho*, evectu navali per mare Gallias appetunt, egressique ad terras *pagum* unum de regno Theodorici devastant atque captivant, oneratisque navibus tam de captivis quam de reliquis spoliis reverti ad patriam cupiunt. Sed rex eorum in litus residebat, donec naves altum mare comprehenderent, ipse deinceps secuturus; quod cum Theodorico nuntiatum fuisset, quod scilicet regio ejus fuerit devastata, Theodebertum, filium suum, in illas partes cum valido exercitu ac magno armorum apparatu direxit. Qui, interfecto rege, hostes navali prælio superatos opprimit, omnemque rapinam terræ restituit."—iii. 3.

It is Beowulf whence we learn that this *pagus* was that of the *Hæt-wære*.

Political relations, however, with an Angle population are

by no means equivalent to Angle blood, or Angle language.

The reading, then, "et Werinorum" should stand, *i. e.* unless the reasons for altering it be better than those suggested.

The form that *Suevi* takes in the Traveller's Song (so-called) is *Swæf-*, in the Plural *Swæf-as*. Witta is their king. They are named along with the Angles.

Mid Englum ic wæs,
And mid Swæfum.

With Angles I was,
And with Swæfs.

The etymology of p. 191, to those who think it probable, is *pro tanto* an argument against the views of the present chapter, viz. the Keltic, Slavonic, or Slavono-Keltic origin of the root *Sw-b*, as opposed to the German.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LANGOBARDI.—WHAT WAS THEIR RELATION TO THE
ANGLES?—THE MAURINGIANS.

§ 137. LAPPENBERG writes—"Of the participation of the *Franks* there exist some, though not sufficiently specific, accounts. The same may be observed with respect to the *Langobards*. Little doubt can, however, be entertained regarding either the one or the other, as we elsewhere, in similar undertakings, find *Saxons* united with *Franks* and *Langobards*; the latter especially, when the complete occupation of the British, southern or eastern coasts made a new field for conquests desirable."

The *Franks* have already been under notice.

The *Langobards* will command even more attention than the *Franks*; not so much, however, because they took a part in the conquest of Britain, either as concurrents or confederates (for there is no evidence that any *Langobard*, *eo nomine*, ever set foot in England), but because, whilst the part they played in history is prominent and conspicuous, they can also be shown to be, if not absolutely Angle, *Angliform* beyond most (perhaps, any) of the other sections or sub-sections of the German name; it being previously assumed that they *are German at all*. Even, however, if they were not so in their origin and ethnological relations, they, nevertheless, became eminently *Angliform* in respect to the points wherein they Germanised. The bearings of this qualification will appear towards the end of the chapter, when the reasons will be given for considering them to have been Slavonians under German chiefs—those chiefs being either Angle or something very near it.

Now, so far as these Angle affinities are the subject of investigation, there is nothing episodical in the chapter that treats of the *Langobards*. But more than this will be dealt with.

The obscurity of the early Langobard history will serve as an excuse for the introduction of a considerable amount of matter less relevant to the present work, than their simple Angle affinities; and the somewhat extraneous question as to their migrations will be gone into. I call this *extraneous*, because (as has been already suggested) it was not to Britain, not across the sea at all, that they were directed. It was towards the South rather than the West, towards Italy rather than towards England. Nevertheless, the doctrine to which I commit myself is, that the Langobard history of the conquerors of Lombardy is the most *Angliform* history of all Germany—more so, perhaps, than even that of the Cherusci.

It may be useful to go back to these same Cherusci for a preliminary in the way of criticism; for if we do this, we shall be reminded of the difference between Common and Proper names. *Cherusci*, was Common; whence it followed that there might be more Cheruscan populations than one. *Langobardi* is a Common name also; whence it follows that there may be more Langobard populations than one.

It may further help our criticism to recollect an observation upon the *Suevi*; viz. the difference between their language and that of the Angli, along with Zeuss' doctrine concerning it. This was to the effect that the Suevi of Suabia had changed their original Angle for their subsequent *High-German* form of speech. Without adopting this view, I held it to be reasonable.

Now this change of language which Zeuss saw in the case of the Suevi and Angli, and which, in the eyes of the present writer, might or might not have taken place, is absolutely necessary in the case of the Langobards. So long as they were on the Angle frontier their language belonged to what the Franks called *Saxony*. In Lombardy, however, it is a *High-German* form of speech; such, at least, is the opinion of Grimm in the *Deutsche Sprache*, and (I believe) of all other competent philologues. The Lombard Code of Laws is sufficient to supply a multiplicity of names, and these names are all said to take a *High-German* form.

The subject, then, is complex; but the population is important, and its relations interesting.

Number of populations called Langobard.—We are prepared

for finding more *Langobard* populations than one. The name has a meaning, so that it is Common rather than Proper. It is evidently, too, a compound; a compound of which each element enters into different combinations. Thus, in the Anglo-Saxon poem known as the Traveller's Song we have the name *Long-beard*, as the name of a population over whom Sceafa ruled—

Síge-here lengest
Sæ'-denum weóld,
Hnæf Hocingum,
Sceafa *Long-beardum*.
(l. 64).

Sigehere longest
The Sea-Danes ruled,
Hnæf the Hocings,
Sceaf the *Longbeards*, &c.

Again—

Mid Scottum ic wæs
And mid *Long-beardum*.
(l. 160).

With Scots I was
and with *Longbeards*.

Here the first element is *Long-*. Elsewhere, however, in the same poem it becomes *Heaþo-*, assuming that the same population is intended.

For-heowon at Heorote
Heaþo-beardna þrym (l. 98).

Hewed down at Heorot
The glory of the *Heaþo-bards*.

Lastly, we have the phenomenon of *substitution*, or the prefix *Heaþo-* with a different affix—

Mid Hreonum ic wæs
And mid *Heaþo-Reamum*
(l. 127).

With Hrons I was
And with *Heaþo-Reams*.

§ 138. The *Λαγγοβάρδοι* and *Λακκοβάρδοι* of Ptolemy.—If we now go to the classical authors for populations whose names end in *-bard*, we shall find that Ptolemy gives us two of them. First, he places a nation whose name, throughout the MSS. is *Lango-bard* (*Λαγγοβάρδοι*) to the west and south of the Suevi Angli (*Σουήβοι οἱ Ἀγγεῖλοι*), these latter being on the middle Elbe. He then has a nation whose name is *not* uniform throughout the MSS., but which is, in some, *Lakko-bard* (*Λακκοβάρδοι*), between the Chauci Majores and the Suevi.

Are we justified in identifying these Lakko-bardi and Lango

bardi? Perhaps, not. We must remember that the word in question is a compound, of which the qualifying element comes first. Hence, it is far from impossible that whilst *Langobardi* means *men with bards* (*beards* or *halberts*, as the case may be) of one sort, *Lakkobardi* may mean *men with bards* (*beards*, &c.) of another kind. True it is that the elements *Lang-* and *Lakk-* are suspiciously alike; neither can any satisfactory meaning be given to the latter word. Nevertheless, the inference of their being the same word is far from conclusive. Compound words may be alike and yet different; as are *Wessex* and *Essex*.

That there were more compounds of *-bard* than one has been shown by the word *Heapo-bard*. That *Heatho-bard* is a different compound from *Lango-bard* is certain: that *Lakkobard* is the same is *not* certain.

But there is another question. The words may be the same, and, yet, the populations to which they apply be different. Or—*vice versâ*—the words may be different, and, yet, the populations to which they apply be the same.

a. There may just as easily have been several populations of Germany which took their names from the character of their *bards*, as there are, in America, several populations who, because they flatten their heads, are called *Flat-heads*.

b. Or, there may have been only one such a population, whose name in the dialect of one of its adjacent populations was *Langobard*, in that of another *Lakkobard*, and in that of a third *Heapo-beard*.

As a proof that these distinctions are of some importance I may state that Zeuss in two places (p. 95 and p. 109) draws a distinction between the *Langobards* and *Lakkobards*.

Lastly.—The simple form *-bard* is to be found in more parts of Europe than one;—in parts beyond the pale of the German populations.

§ 139. *The Λαγγόσαργοι of Strabo.*—Strabo has neither *Lango-bards* nor *Lakko-bards*, nor any form in *-bard* at all. But he has a population called *Λαγκόσαργοι*. These lie beyond the Elbe, and are nomadic rather than agricultural in their habits.

Μέγιστον μὲν τὸ τῶν Σοήβων ἔθνος· διήκει γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβίου· μέρος δέ τι αὐτῶν, καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἀλβίου νέμεται, καθάπερ Ἑρμόν-

δοροι καὶ Λαγκόσαργοι · νῦν δὲ καὶ τελέως εἰς τὴν περαίαν οὗτοί γε ἐκπεπτώ-
κασι φεύγοντες.

To recapitulate—We have a compound name, Common rather than Proper, with a definite meaning, and with two elements.

In the classical writers, assuming the accuracy of the MSS., we get—

1. The root *b-rd* + a prefix, and
2. The root *l-ng* + an affix, giving—
 1. *Lang-o-bardi*, or the men with either *long beards* or *long halberts*.
 2. *Lakko-bardi*, or the men with *beards* (or *halberts*) endowed with some quality expressed by *l-k*—
 3. *Lango-sargi*, or the men whose *sargs* (whatever they were) were *long*?

Then there are in the German compositions—

4. The *Heapo*-bards, and,—
5. The *Heapo*-Reams, over and above the *Longbeards*, which they supply in common with Tacitus and Ptolemy, and with whose *Langobardi* they coincide.

§ 140. *The forms Bard and Bardowieck*.—We have hitherto seen the root *b-t* (*bart, bard, beard, &c.*) only as the *affix* element of a compound word; this being the form it takes in authors. But if we turn from authors to the map we shall find it as a *prefix*—*bard*. There is a district in Lüneburg, called Bardowieck; low down on the Elbe, and not far from Hamburg. These are parts which have commanded considerable attention on the part of ethnologists, and which, oftener than once, have been claimed as the original home of the Langobards. With this view, *Bardo-wieck* = the *wick* of the *-bards*;—the Bards *minus* any prefix.

§ 141. *The Lombards of Lombardy*.—*Lombard* is only *Langobard* in a shortened form; so that Lombardy is a *Langobard* occupancy.

§ 142. *Meaning of the elements -bart, Heapo-, and Ream-*.—The third of these I know nothing about.

The second finds its explanation in the following extract from Mr. Kemble's Glossary to Beowulf:—

“Heapo, a prefix denoting war, and probably representing a

perished Goth. *hāpus*, having moreover nothing whatever to do with *heáh*, *altus*. The corresponding Ohd. form *hadu* subsists in several proper names; *Hadu-brant*, *Hadu-praht* (*in bello splendens*), *Hadu-frit*, *Hadu-funs* (*in bellum paratus*), or is the *funs* a substantive and the meaning of the name, like *Hadu-prant*, *titio vel ignis belli?* (A. S. *hilde-leóma*.) *Hadumár* (*gloriosus in pugna*), probably the *Catumerus* of Tacitus; but which is merely used as an epithet, *heaðo-mæ're*, in l. 5599 of our poem; so *Catualda* for *Catu-walda* (*rex pugnæ*). In A. S. the word is very common, and is exactly parallel in composition to *hilde*, *beado*, and *gúð*. Thus *heapo-byrne* (*gúð-byrne*, *hilde-byrne*), *heapo-deór* (*hilde-deór*), *bellua pugnæ*, *heapo-rinc* (*beado-rinc*, *hilde-rinc*, *gúð-rinc*, *here-rinc*), *heaðo-wæ'd*, *heaðo-lác*, *heapo-bearn*, *heaðo-fyr*, *heapo-láf*, *heapo-reáf*, *heapo-sceard*, *heapo-swát* (*hilde-swát*), *sanguis bello fusus*, *heapo-swenge* (*heoro-swenge*), *ensis vibratio*, *heapo-weorc*, *heapo-wylm*; and in the adj. *heapo-grim* (*beado-grim*, *heoro-grim*, *níð-grim*, *wæl-grim*), *heapo-róf*, *heapo-seóc*, *vulneratus* *heapo-torht*, all of which, and many besides, are found in *Beówulf*. The word *heapu* in l. 3721, and in the compound *heapu-liðende*, l. 5901, is not the word explained above, but denotes *profunditates maris*.

Bart-, has generally had one of the two meanings assigned to it.

“Longobardos vulgo ferunt nominatos a prolixâ *barbâ* et nunquam tonsâ.”—Isidor. Hispal. Orig. ix. 2. “Certum est, Longobardos ab intactæ ferro *barbæ longitudinæ*, cum primitus Winili dicti fuerint, ita postmodum appellatos; nam juxta illorum linguam *lang* longam *bart* barbam significat.”—Paul. Diacon. i. 9.

This is the etymology which was first received, and which is, perhaps, most generally credited. I do not know who first suggested the idea that the *-bard* in *Lango-bard* was the *bart* in *hal-bert* and *part-izan*, the name of warlike weapons; but in such a case the *Langobardi* are not the *Long-beards* but the *Halberdiers*.

The choice between these two etymologies is not very important.

§. 143. The *Λαγγόσαργοι*, *Lango-sargi*.—The question as to how far these different names mean different populations now finds place.

It is convenient to begin with the *Λαγγόσαργοι* of Strabo.

The texts of Strabo and Tacitus so far agree as to represent a population warred against by its neighbours—ἐκπεπτώκασιν φεύγοντες writes the one, *paucitas nobilitat*, &c. the other. The localities, too, agree. It is safe to identify them.

Neither are there any very strong reasons for refining on the Λαγκόβαρδοι.

In Staffordshire, and many other parts of England, syllables ending in *-ing* are pronounced *ingk*. Suppose this to have been the case with some dialect in Germany, from which the notice of a people called *Langobardan* was derived. The sound would then be *Langk-o-bardan*. To a Greek no way of spelling this would be more natural than by -κκ-; since it was by -γγ- that he already spelt the sound of *-ng*.

On the *Heapo-Reams* I can throw no light.

The *Heapo-bards* are, certainly, referable to the same part of Germany as the Λαγγόσαργοι, Λαγγόβαρδοι, and Λαγκόβαρδοι; that is, if I am right to suppose *Heorot* to mean the *Hartz*—even though, in the text before us, it may mean a more specific locality.

All these names, then, may reasonably be supposed to mean the same population.

How originated the name Bardowieck?—This may stand over, until the fuller and more important question of the *Lombards of Lombardy* has been gone into.

§ 144. Are the Langobards, who gave their name to Lombardy, and who take a prominent place in history no earlier than the sixth century (A. D.) the earlier Langobards of Tacitus, Strabo, and Ptolemy?

The chief authority for the history of the Lombards of Lombardy is Paul the son of Warnefrid, deacon of Friuli, and secretary to Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards. He is quoted as *Paulus Diaconus*, and also as *Paul Warnefrid*. The chief writer on the German nations who had preceded him was Jornandes. Now Jornandes had deduced the Goths, &c., from Scandinavia, and Paulus Diaconus does the same. Jornandes had written—"Ex hac igitur Scanzia insula, quasi officina gentium—cum rege suo nomine Berich *Gothi* quondam memorantur egressi," &c. Paulus Diaconus writes—"Winilorum hoc est, *Longobardorum* gens—ab insula quæ *Scandina-*

via dicitur adventavit." He proceeds with the details ; which will now be given in his own words. However, as the text is somewhat discontinuous, they will be given separately.

"Ea pars, cui sors dederat genitale solum excedere, exteraque arva sectari, ordinatis super se duobus ducibus, *Ibor* scilicet et *Ayone*, qui et Germani erant, et juvenili adhuc ætate floridi, et cæteris præstantiores, ad exquirendas quas possint incolere terras, sedesque statuere, valedicentes, suis simul et patriæ, iter arripiunt. Horum erat ducum mater nomine *Gambara*, mulier quantum inter suos et ingenio acris, et consiliis provida; de cujus in rebus dubiis prudentia non minimum confidebant."

This is followed by a long episode on Scandinavia, containing a notice of the Maelstrom. Then—

"Egressi de Scandinavia Winili, cum Ibor et Ayone ducibus, in regionem quæ appellatur Scoringa venientes, per annos illic aliquot consederunt. Illo itaque tempore Ambri et Assi, Wandalorum duces, vicinas quasque provincias bello premebant. Hi jam multis elati victoriis, nuncios ad Winilos mittunt, ut aut tributa Wandalis persolverent, aut se ad belli certamina præpararent. Tunc Ibor et Ayo, adnitente matre Gambara, deliberant melius esse armis libertatem tueri, quam tributorum eandem solutione fœdare, mandant per legatos Wandalis, pugnaturos se potius, quam servituros. Erant siquidem tunc Winili universi ætate juvenili florentes, sed numero exigui; quippe qui unius non nimie amplitudinis insulæ, tertia solummodo particula fuerint.

"Refert hoc loco antiquitas ridiculam fabulam: quod accedentes Wandali ad Wodan, victoriam de Winilis postularint, illeque responderit, se illis victoriam daturum, quos primum oriente sole conspexisset; tunc accessisse Gambaram ad Fream, uxorem Wodan, et Winilis victoriam postulasse, Freamque consilium dedisse, ut Winilorum mulieres, solutos crines erga faciem ad barbæ similitudinem componerent, manequæ primo cum viris adessent, seseque a Wodan videndas pariter e regione, qua ille per fenestram, orientem versus, erat solitus adspicere, collocarent: atque ita factum fuisse. Quas cum Wodan conspiceret oriente sole, dixisse: *Qui sunt isti Longobardi?* Tunc Fream subjunxisse, ut quibus nomen tribuerat, victoriam condonaret: sicque Winilis Wodan vi-

ctoriam concessisse. Hæc risu digna sunt, et pro nihilo habenda. Victoria enim non potestati est adtributa hominum, sed e cœlo potius ministratur.

“Certum tamen est Longobardos, ab intactæ ferro barbæ longitudine, cum primitus Winili dicti fuerint, ita postmodum appellatos. Nam juxta illorum linguam, *Lang longam*, *Bart barbam* significat. Wodan sane, quem adjecta litera Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est, qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis Germaniæ gentibus ut deus adoratur; qui non circa hæc tempora, sed longe antè, nec in Germania, sed in Græcia fuisse perhibetur.”

The words in italics are those that will form the chief text for remarks:—

“*Winili* igitur, qui et Longobardi, commisso cum *Wandalis* prælio, acriter, utpote pro libertatis gloria decertantes, victoriam capiunt; qui magnam postmodum famis penuriam in eadem Scoringa provincia perpassi, valde animo consternati sunt.

“De qua egredientes, dum in *Mauringam* transire disponent, *Assipitti* eorum iter impediunt, denegantes eis omnimodis per suos terminos transitum. Porro Longobardi, cum magnas hostium copias cernerent, neque cum eis, ob paucitatem exercitus, congredi auderent, dumque quid agere deberent, decernerent, tandem necessitas consilium reperit. Simulant se in castris suis habere *Cynocephalos*, id est, canini capitis homines: divulgant apud hostes hos pertinaciter bella gerere, humanum sanguinem bibere, et si hostem assequi non possint, proprium potare cruorem. Utque huic assertioni fidem facerent, ampliant tentoria, plurimosque in castris ignes accendunt. His hostes auditis, visisque creduli effecti, bellum quod minabantur, jam tentare non audent.

“Habebant tamen apud se virum fortissimum, de cujus fidebant viribus, posse se proculdubio obtinere quod vellent, hunc solum præ omnibus pugnaturum objiciunt. Mandantque Longobardis, ut unum quem vellent suorum mitterent, qui cum eo ad singulare certamen exiret, ea videlicet conditione, ut si suus bellator victoriam caperet, Longobardi itinere quo venerant abirent: sin vere superaretur ab altero, tunc se Longobardis transitum per fines proprios non vetituros.

Cumque Longobardi, quem e suis potius adversus virum bellicosissimum mitterent, ambigerent, quidam ex servili conditione sponte se obtulit, promittit se provocanti hosti congressurum; ea ratione, ut si de hoste victoriam caperet, a se suaque progenie servitutis nævum auferrent. Quid plura? gratanter quæ postulaverat esse facturos pollicentur. Aggressus hostem expugnavit et vicit; Longobardis transeundi facultatem, sibi suisque ut optaverat, jura libertatis indeptus est.

“Igitur Longobardi tandem in Mairingam pervenientes, ut bellatorum possint ampliare numerum, plures a servili jugo ereptos, ad libertatis statum perducunt; utque rata eorum haberi posset libertas, sanciunt more solito per sagittam, immurmurantes nihilominus, ob rei firmitatem, quædam patria verba. Egressi itaque Longobardi de Mairinga, applicuerunt in Golanda, ubi aliquanto tempore commorati dicuntur. Post hæc Anthaib et Banthaib, pari modo et Wurgondaib, per annos aliquot possedisse: quæ nos arbitrari possumus esse vocabula pagorum, seu quorumcunque locorum.

“Mortuis interea Ibor et Ayone ducibus, qui Longobardos a Scandinavia eduxerant, et usque ad hæc tempora rexerant, nolentes jam ultra Longobardi esse sub ducibus, regem sibi ad cæterarum instar gentium statuerunt. Regnavit igitur super eos primus Agelmundus, filius Ayonis, ex prosapia ducens originem Guningorum, quæ apud eos generosior habebatur. Hic, sicut a majoribus traditur, tribus et triginta annis Longobardorum tenuit regnum.

“His temporibus quædam meretrix uno partu septem puerulos enixa, beluis omnibus mater crudelior, in piscinam projecit necandos. Hoc si cui impossibile videtur, relegat historias veterum, et inveniet non solum septem infantulos, sed etiam novem unam mulierem simul peperisse. Et hoc certum est maxime apud Ægyptios fieri. Contigit itaque ut rex Agelmundus, dum iter carperet, ad eandem piscinam deveniret. Qui cum equo retento miserandos infantulos miraretur, hastaque quam manu gerebat, huc illucque eos inverteret, unus ex illis manu injecta hastam regiam comprehendit. Rex misericordia motus, factumque altius admiratus, eum magnum futurum pronuntiat: moxque eum e piscina levare præcipit, atque nutrici traditum, omni cum studio mandat alendum. Et quia eum de

piscina, quæ eorum lingua Lama dicitur, abstulit, Lamissio eidem nomen imposuit. Qui cum adolevisset, adeo strenuus juvenis effectus est, ut et bellicosissimus extiterit, et post Agelmundi funus, regni gubernacula rexit. Ferunt hunc, dum Longobardi cum rege suo iter agentes ad quendam fluvium pervenissent, et ab Amazonibus essent prohibiti ultra permeare, cum earum fortissima in fluvio natatu pugnassem, eamque permisse, sibi laudis gloriam, Longobardis quoque transitum paravisse: hoc siquidem inter utrasque acies prius constitisse, quatenus si Amazona eadem Lamissionem superaret, Longobardi a flumine recederent; sin vero a Lamissione, ut et factum est, ipsa vinceretur, Longobardis eadem permeandi fluentia copia præberetur. Constat sane quia hujus assertionis series minus veritati subnixa est. Omnibus etenim, quibus veteres historiæ notæ sunt, patet, gentem Amazonum longe antea, quam hæc fieri potuerunt, esse deletam; nisi forte quia loca eadem, ubi hæc gesta feruntur, non satis historiographis nota fuerunt, et vix ab aliquo eorum vulgata sunt, fieri potuerit, ut usque ad id tempus hujusmodi inibi mulierum genus haberetur. Nam et ego referri a quibusdam audiui, usque hodie in intimis Germaniæ finibus gentem harum existere feminarum.

“Igitur transmeato Longobardi, de quo dixeramus, flumine, cum ad ultiores terras pervenissent, illic per tempus aliquod commorabantur. Interea cum nihil adversi suspicarentur, et essent quieti, longa nimis securitas, quæ semper detrimentorum mater est, eis non modicam perniciem peperit. Noctu denique cum negligentia resoluti quiescerent cuncti, subito super eos Bulgares irruentes, plures ex iis sauciant, multos prosternunt, et in tantum per eorum castra debacchati sunt, ut ipsum Agelmundum regem interficerent, ejusque unicam filiam sorte captivitatis auferrent.

“Resumptis tamen post hæc incommoda Longobardi viribus, Lamissionem, de quo superius dixeramus, sibi regem constituerunt.”

§ 145. In the first, second, and fourth of these extracts we have pure fable; possibly, but not necessarily, with some basis of fact as a groundwork. I do not, however, at present, ask how far this was the case. It is only into the origin of the fictional elements that I inquire, asking whether they can be

referred to any particular cycle of fable. When we hear that the Britons are descended from Brute grandson of Anchises, we know that the fact is wrong, *i.e.* that it is no fact at all. Nevertheless, we know that the name of Anchises belongs to the Tale of Troy. What is such a fact worth? To one interested in the History of Fiction it *has* a value—and the History of Fiction is the history of ideas. To the historian of Fiction, the name of Brute, the grandson of Anchises, shows that the range of mythologic, mythic, or legendary ideas connected with Troy reached Britain.

Let us apply this principle to the fables before us, and see if we can measure the range of the mythologic lore of the Lombards.

a. In extract I. and II., *Ibor* is a name found in Slavonic and Scandinavian legend, also in Scandinavian history.

b. In extract II., Wodan is the Deity who gives his name to *Wedn*-esday, as *Frey* does to *Fri*-day.

c. In extract IV., *Lama* and *Lamissio* are names in the Bohemian mythology.

d. The third extract I believe to contain a real historical account of an actual migration or march; more probably a march than a migration; more probably a military march of warriors, than a migration of husbands, wives, and children.

Winili I believe to have meant *Vindelicians*—

Mauringia, the country of the Μαρουίγγοι of Ptolemy—

Assipiti, the *Usipetes* of the Lower Rhine—

Antaib, a district of the Wends, here called *Ant*,—

Wurgondaib, a district of either the *Urugundi* or the *Burgundi*.

Between the time of Ptolemy and Justinian there is but one notice of the Langobardi. It occurs in a fragment of Petrus Patricius. Taken with the extract from Paulus, it furnishes an undesigned coincidence of so remarkable a character that it has led me to the previous identifications.

The notice runs thus :—

“Ὅτι Λογγιβάρδων καὶ Ὀβίων ἑξακισχιλίων Ἰστρον περαιωθέντων, τῶν περὶ Βίνδικα ἱππέων ἐξελασάντων καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Κάνδιδον πεζῶν ἐπιφθασάντων, εἰς παντελὴ φυγὴν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτράποντο. Ἐφ’ οἷς οὕτω πραχθείσιν ἐν δέει καταστάντες ἐκ πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως οἱ βάρβαροι, πρέσβεις παρὰ

Αἴλιον Βάσσον τὴν Παιονίαν διέποντα στέλλουσι, Βαλλομάριόν τε τὸν βασι-
λέα Μαρκομάννων καὶ ἑτέρους δέκα, κατ' ἔθνος ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἓνα. Καὶ ὄρκους
τὴν εἰρήνην οἱ πρέσβεις πιστωσάμενοι οἴκαδε χωροῦσιν.

It is this word *Obii* which justifies the identification of *Assipitti* with *Usipetes*, for the *Ubii* and *Usipetes* were contiguous nations; and, I think, that whilst Petrus Patricius has taken the name of the former, Paulus Diaconus has taken that of the latter. The exact details of the triple relation I do not pretend to make out. I only infer that the Langobard march touched the populations about Cologne and Wisbaden, the Ubian and Usipetan localities.

The Danube (Ἰστρον) was the Upper Danube; *i.e.* the parts nearest the Rhine.

Βίνδικα justifies the identification of Winili and Vindelicia.

The names Marcomanni and Pæonia (Pannonia) suggest a movement further eastwards.

I even think that a plausible guess may be made as to the origin of the story of the *Dog-heads* (*Cynocephalæ*). The Traveller's Song gives us a tribe of *Hundings* (*Hound-ings*), of whom Mearcholf was king.

The Langobard migration, then, may be considered as a true historical fact: not, however, because it accounts for the presence of certain Langobards in Lombardy; since these may have been a population so-called nearer Italy than the Langobards of Tacitus.

Nor yet because it is supported by statements; since the story of Paulus Diaconus is, upon the whole, impossible.

The reasons for considering it an historical fact is the undesigned coincidence in the evidence as to the passage through the parts about Cologne—the undesigned coincidence manifested in the names Ὀβιοί (= *Ubii*), and *Assipitti* (= *Usipetes*).

Let us say that the account of Petrus Patricius takes us from the Lower Rhine to the frontiers of Bohemia; and we shall find that that line is that of Paulus Diaconus from the *Assipitti* to the locality of *Lamissio*.

§ 146. The Lombards, then, reached Lombardy after a migration of no ordinary length, a migration by land rather than by sea, a migration from north to south, a migration obscurely

narrated by the national historian, and only illustrated through the collation of scattered notices and by means of emendatory criticism applied to some of the names in the account.

Furthermore, as that migration is from the parts in the direction of the *Langobard* localities of Tacitus and Ptolemy, there is no reason to refine further upon the *common* character of the name, and to doubt about deriving the conquerors of Italy from the hardy warriors of the Elbe.

§ 147. To fix their *original* locality we must go back to the earlier notices. Those of Petrus Patricius and Paulus Diaconus carry the line of migration no further northwards than the parts about Cologne. It is unnecessary, however, to show that they were not indigenous here. Add to this, that all evidence brings them from either the east or north-east. The Semnones and the Angli are the populations to which they lie nearest; and we may change their locality just as we attach them the more closely to the one or to the other. The parts about Göttingen may be a Lombard locality. So may the parts about Halberstadt; so may the parts about Brunswick. Göttingen gives us the least amount of migration. The Halberstadt and Brunswick neighbourhoods have each certain peculiar characteristics which may or may not be Langobard, viz. the forms in *-s-leben* (see p. 125). Lastly, Luneburg, on the strength of the *Bardowieck* district, has its claims.

At present it is enough to remark that, wherever we place the early Langobard area, we place it near that of the Angles.

Hence, the geographical relations of the two populations are *primâ facie* evidence of an ethnological affinity.

§ 148. *Certain names, &c., Angle and Langobard.*—Can we support this *primâ facie* view of a Langobard and Angle connection by any further facts? We can; and we should remember that they need not be either numerous or definite. Our evidence is of the kind called *cumulative*, wherein facts, which by themselves are both small and unimportant, derive weight from their juxtaposition; each strengthening the other.

Let us look at the legends first. Beowulf, the hero of the

Angle poem already mentioned, was an Angle hero. He was also a *Scylding*, *i. e.* a descendant of a real or fictitious personage named *Scyld*, even as Agamemnon was an Atrides. Now *Scyld* was a *Scefing*, *i. e.* he stood in the same relation to a *Sceaf*, as Beowulf did to him. But *Sceaf* was a Langobard hero also; as we have seen already—"Sceaf ruled the Langobards."—*Traveller's Song*, l. 65.

From the legends let us turn to the personal names. Three Angle names, at least, appear in the list of Lombard kings, viz. *Clapa* = *Clepho*, *Ælfwine* and *Eadwine* (*Edwin*), who are, name for name, = the *Alboin* and *Audouin* of Paulus Diaconus.

Swylce ic wæs on *Eatule*
Mid *Ælfwine*,
Se hæfde mon-cynnes
Míne ge-fræge,
Leohteste hond
Lófes to wyrceenne.
Heortan un-hneáweste,
Hringa ge-dáles,
Beorhtra beága,
Bearn *Ead-wines*.

Also I was in Italy
With *Ælfwine*,
Who had of all mankind,
To my knowledge,
The lightest hand,
Praise to effect;
The amplest heart
In the distribution of rings;
Of bright bracelets,
The child of *Eadwine*.

Traveller's Song, ll. 139-148.

From the personal names we may go to the Laws.—The Lombard give us the eminently Angle custom of the *morning-gift*, *i. e.* a pecuniary settlement made by the husband upon the wife the morning after their marriage.

Without enlarging upon these points, we may safely predicate concerning the Langobards that they were a population sufficiently connected with the Angles to have a portion of the same mythologic ideas, and also to have, more or less, leaders with the same names.

§ 149. *Objections—Slavonic hypothesis.*—At the beginning of the chapter it is suggested that, German as is the history of the Langobards, it is by no means absolutely certain that their blood and language were German *in the first instance*. All that is beyond doubt is the fact of their having comported themselves as Germans in the fifth, sixth, and subsequent

centuries; of their having conquered Lombardy as Germans. They may have been *Slavonians under German chiefs*. (See p. 200.)

Why is this view entertained? Because the statement of Paulus Diaconus, already laid before the reader, cannot be ignored; the statement that they were "*Winili—Winilorum, hoc est, Longobardorum gens.*" Why such a word as *Winili* indicates a Slavonic population may be seen in the third Preliminary Dissertation.

I say that this statement must by no means be ignored. On the contrary, we must take it as we find it, and deal with it as the word *Jute* in Beda was dealt with. We must ask whether the other facts of the Langobard ethnology confirm, or whether they invalidate it.

I think, as far as they go, they confirm it.

a. The obscurer points of the Lombard mythology are, at least, as Slavonic as German.

b. Two out of three of these probable localities are on the Slavonic frontier. This they were if they lay *east* of the Angles, and on the Elbe—which they probably did.

§ 150. *The Bardowieck locality.*—It has already been stated that there is a district in Lüneburg, low down on the Elbe, and not far from Hamburg, called *Bardo-wieck*, to which the attention of investigators has been drawn by the name, a name which gives us the root *b-rt* (*b-rd*) in the form wherein we get it in *Lang-o-bard*. In the case of *Bardo-wieck*, however, it is a *prefix* rather than an *affix*. (See p. 204.)

Can this have taken its name from the Lango-bards? Can it have given its own name to them?

As far as we have hitherto gone in our translations of the root *b-rt*, we have found nothing in favour of the former view. The two interpretations of *Lango-bard* have been *long-beard*, and *long-halbert*; names which, whether likely or unlikely to have been borne by any one in their compound, are by no means very probable ones in their simple form. Twenty bodies of men would call themselves by such a designation as *Long-beard* or *Long-spear*, for one that would indulge in such

a name as *Beard* or *Spear*. I do not, then, think that *Bardowieck* = the *wick* of the *Bards*.

Can we entertain the second alternative, and derive the name of the population from that of their occupancy? If this is to be done, *b-rt* must mean something very different from either *beard* or *halbert*. It must be a geographical term of some kind or other. Now I owe to a note of Dr. Smith's, in his valuable edition of Gibbon, the knowledge of the fact of the word *Börde* (or *Bord*) still signifying, on the banks of the Elbe, "a fertile plain by the side of a river," and that "a district near Magdeburg is still called the *Lange Börde*." According to this view the Langobardi would signify "inhabitants of the *Long Bord* of the river," &c.—*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. xlii. note, vol. v., p. 165.

Whatever else may come of this interpretation, nothing comes in favour of the claim of Lüneburg as a Langobard locality, to the exclusion of the parts about Magdeburg. The former is simply the *Bord*, the latter the *Long-bord*.

There is no doubt as to the specific likeness between name and name being in favour of the southern occupancy.

But this is not all. There may have been Langobards wherever there was a *Long Bord*, and there may have been a Long-bord wherever there was a river within a given philological area with a moderately long tract of alluvial soil on its banks. All this is what we have seen before, viz. with the Cherusci, who may have been here and there and everywhere, provided only that there was a tract of forest, and a population that called it *ch-r t*. (See pp. 57–59.)

Now comes another series of facts, viz. that the root *b-rt*, as a *geographical* term, is Slavonic and Lithuanic—fully as Slavonic and Lithuanic as it is German, and, perhaps, more so. This is seen in the following extract from Dusberg (iii. 3. See Zeuss in *v. Prussi*):—

"Terra Pruschiæ in undecim partes dividitur. Prima fuit *Culmensis et Lubavia*, quæ ante introitum fratrum domus Teutonicæ quasi fuerat desolata. Secunda *Pomesania*, in qua *Pomesani*. Tertia *Pogesania*, in qua *Pogesani*. Quarta *Warmia*, in qua *Warmienses*. Quinta *Nattangia*, in qua

Nattangi. Sexta *Sambia*, in qua *Sambitæ*. Septima *Nadrovía*, in qua *Nadrovitæ*. Octava *Scalovia*, in qua *Scalovitæ*. Nona *Sudovia*, in qua *Sudoritæ*. Decima *Galindia*. Undecima *Barthe et Plica Bartha*, quæ nunc major et minor *Bartha* dicitur, in qua *Barthi vel Barthenses* habitabant. Vix aliqua istarum nationum fuit, quæ non haberet ad bellum duo millia virorum equitum, et multa millia pugnatorum."

That this name is *native* in Prussia is inferred from the traditional account of it:—

"Duces fuere duo, nempe Bruteno et Wudawutto, quorum alterum scilicet Bruteno sacerdotem crearunt, alterum scilicet Wudawutto in regem elegerunt. . . Rex Wudawutto duodecim liberos masculos habebat, quorum nomina fuerunt *Litpho*, *Saimo*, *Sudo*, *Naidro*, *Scalawo*, *Natango*, *Bartho*, *Galindo*, *Warmo*, *Hoggo*, *Pomeszo*, *Chelmo*. . . *Warmo* nonus filius Wudawutti, a quo Warmia dicta, reliquit uxorem *Arma*, unde Ermelandt."

This particular country of the Prussian *Barthi*—Barthia and Bartha in the old documents—lay to the east of the river Aller, and to the north of the land of the Galindæ in East Prussia.

The extent to which this is the same as the root *V-rth*, *P-rth* in the names of so many Slavonic rivers (*Wрта*, *Pruth*), may be advantageously investigated by the special Slavonic scholar. All that is said, at present, is—*a*. That the complications engendered by the word *Bardowieck* are insufficient to set up a claim in favour of Lüneburg, rather than the parts about Magdeburg, having been the original Langobard locality.

b. That the geographical signification attributed to the root *b-rt* is in favour of the parts about Magdeburg and Brunswick, rather than those about Gottingen, having been this same original Langobard locality.

c. That, such being the case, the area of the forms in *-s-leben* may have been Langobard.

d. That this area was, to say *at least* of it, adjacent to the Slavonic frontier; and—

e. That (more than this) it may once have been actually Slavonic (or Lithuanic).

I continue this long, but not altogether irrelevant, episode with a notice of a population associated with the Lango-bards.

§ 151. *The Mauringians*.—We have seen (p. 208) how Paulus Diaconus mentions them—"de quâ" (*i. e.* the Province of *Scoring*) "egredientes, dum in *Mauringam* transire disponent, Assipitti eorum iter impediunt," &c.

In the so-called Traveller's Song the notices of the Myrgings are numerous—Meaca being then king. In the first place the geographer himself has had something to do with them.

ANGLO-SAXON.

ENGLISH.

Wid-síð maðolade,
 Word-hord on-leác,
 Se ðe mæst
 Mærða ofer eorðan,
 Folca geond ferde.
 Oft he flette ge-þáh,
 Myne-lícne máþpum.
 Hine from Myrgingum
 Æþele on-wócon.
 He mid Ealh-hilde,
 Fælre freoþu-webban,
 Forman síþe.
 Hreð-cyninges
 Hám ge-sóhte,
 Eástan of Ongle;
 Eorman-ríces
 Wráþes wæ'r-logan.
 On-gon þá worn spre-can.
 Fela ic monna ge-frægn,
 Mægþum wealdan.

Widsith spake,
 His word-hoard unlock'd,
 Who a vast many [had met
 with]
 Wonders on earth,
 Travell'd through many nations;
 Oft he had in hall receiv'd
 A memorable gift.
 Him from among the Myrgings,
 Nobles gave birth to.
 He with Ealhild,
 Faithful peace-weaver,
 For the first time,
 Of the Hreth-king,
 Sought the home
 East of Ongle,
 Of Eormanric,
 The fierce faith-breaker;
 Began then much to speak:
 Of many men I've heard,
 Ruling o'er tribes, &c.

Again:—

þá ic to hám bi-cwom,
 Leófum to leáne,
 þæs þe he me lond for-geaf,
 Mínes fæder éþel,
 Freá Myrginga;
 And me þá Ealh-hild

When to my home I came,
 In requital to my friend,
 For that he me had given land,
 My father's home,
 The Myrging's Lord;
 And to me then Ealhild

O'þerne for-geaf,
Dryht-cwen dúguþe,
Dohtor Eád-wines.

Another gave,
The noble queen of chieftains,
Eadwine's daughter.

Again:—

Mid Moidum ic wæs, and mid
Persum,
And mid Myrgingum,
And Mofdingum,
And ongend Myrgingum,
And mid Amoþingum.

With the Medes I was and with
the Persians,
And with the Myrgings,
And the Mofdings,
And again with the Myrgings,
And with the Amothings.

More important is an extract which brings the Angle Offa in contact with them, and with the *Heapo-bards*.

Offa weóld Ongle,
Alewih Denum;
Se wæ's þára manna
Mód gast ealra.
Nó hwæpre he ofer Offan
Eorl-scepe fremede;
Ac offa ge-slóg,
Ærest monna,
Cniht-wesende,
Cyne-ríca mæ'st.
Næ'nig efen eald him
Eorl-scipe máran,
On orette,
A'ne sweorde;
Merce ge-mæ'rde,
Wið Myrgingum,
Bi Fífel-dore,
Heóldon forð siþpan
Engle and Swæ'fe
Swá hit Offa ge-slóg.
Hróþ-wulf and Hróð-gar
Heóldon lengest,
Sibbe æt somne,
Suhtor-fædran:
Siþpan hý for-wræ'con
Wi-cynga cynn,

Offa rul'd Ongle,
Alewih the Danes,
Who of those men was
Haughtiest of all.
Yet not o'er Offa he
Supremacy effected,
For Offa won
Earliest of men,
Being a youth,
Of kingdoms greatest.
No one of like age with him
Dominion greater
Had in contest gain'd
With his single sword;
His marches he enlarged
Towards the Myrgings,
By Fífel-dor.
Continued thenceforth,
Engles and Swæfs,
As Offa it had won.
Hrothulf and Hrothgar
Held very long
Peace together,
The paternal cousins,
After they had expell'd
The race of Wikings,

And Ingeldes
Ord for-bigdan,
For-heówan æt Heorote,
Heaðo-beardna þrym.

And Ingeld's
Sword had bow'd,
Slaughter'd at Heorot
The host of Heathobeards.

Lastly, we get the name *With-Myrgings*.

Eád-wine sóhte ic, and Elsan,
Ægel-mund, and Hungar,
And þa wloncan ge-dryht,
Wið Myrginga.

Eadwine I sought and Elsa,
Ægelmund and Hungar,
And the proud host
Of the With-Myrgings.

In the later writers there is a *Mauringian* district in the parts north of the Elbe, *i. e.* in the parts that the Franks called Nordalbingia.

To explain the details of every notice of these *Mauringians* or *Myrgings* is neither easy nor necessary; and, hence, it is only the Mauringians of Paulus Diaconus that will be considered in the present chapter. There were the *Marovingi* (Μαρουίγγοι) of Ptolemy; who writes "again east of the Abnobæan Mountains" (*i. e.* the Black Forest) "dwell—above, the Suevi, the Kasuari, then the Nertereanes, then the Danduti, under whom the Turoni and *Marovingi*;" or—

Πάλιν ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν μὲν τῶν Ἀβνοβαίων ὁρῶν οἰκοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Σουή-
βους Κασονάροι, εἶτα Νερτερέανες εἶτα Δανδοῦτοι, ὑφ' οὓς Τούρωνοι καὶ
Μαρουίγγοι.

Between these Marovingians of Ptolemy and the Langobards of Paulus Diaconus there was no ethnological connection, but only a political, or historical, one. There was a certain tract of Mauringian (Marovingian) territory which the Assipitti (Usipetes), in so far as they hindered the march of the Langobards, may be said to have defended. And this tract lay south of the Usipetan country (which was in Nassau), and east of the Upper Rhine. It lay in that part of Germany from which the north-eastern part of Gaul was conquered; in that part of Germany which sent forth the Franks of the Upper Rhine, and the Burgundians. Of this Frank and Burgundian confederacy I believe the Marovingians to have been a part, and I also believe that it is their name which supplied that of the so-called

Merovingian dynasty. The exact details by which this transfer of denomination took place, I do not pretend to give. I only hold that it originated amongst the Franks of Franche Compté and the Burgundians of Burgundy rather than among the Salian Franks of Clovis. If so, the history of the name *France* is as follows. There was a double introduction of it. There was a partial provincial conquest effected in the south and east, by which a certain district took the name of Franche Compté—the Franks that gave this name being Franks of the Upper rather than the Lower Rhine, Franks whose confederates and neighbours were the Burgundians of Suabia and Bavaria, Franks whose name is preserved in the modern word Franken, or Franconia. These it was whose descent was from the Marovingi of Ptolemy, rather than from the Salii, Marsi, Sicambri, and the other allied populations of the parts below Cologne; and these it was who may also have been in Ptolemy's time Nertereans, Danduti, and other similar details of a name that afterwards became so formidable.

So much for the partial and provincial conquest which gave the partial and provincial name of Franche Compté. The *general* reduction of *France* by the Franks of Clovis was a wholly different event. Its agents were the Franks of the Lower rather than the Upper Rhine, and its earliest area the southern parts of Belgium, and the northern parts of Gaul.

Between the two, there was originally no apparent connection—the Franks of Franche Compté being Merovingian, but not dominant as conquerors; whereas the Franks of Clovis were dominant conquerors, but not Merovingian. Hence, it was only when the Franch Compté history became incorporated (and confused) with that of the Salian Franks that the dynasty so-called passed for the original ruling dynasty of Gaul in general, or to use an expression borrowed from the style of the *Czar of all the Russias*, the king of *both the Frances*—France and Franche Compté.

The Marovingians were, probably, *Burgundian* rather than aught else.

It has not been for nothing that this hypothesis of the Burgundian origin of the Merovingian name has been exhibited. In the *Deutsche Sprache* the two divisions of the German

name which are most closely associated are the Langobard and the Burgundian. However, if the preceding views be true there were no two groups more different. The original Burgundian locality was south, the original Langobard locality, north. The former touched Gaul; the latter was in contact with the Transalbian portion of Northern Slavonia. The original Burgundians, so far as they were German, belonged to the High-German division. The Langobards, on the other hand, so far as they were German, were pre-eminently Angliform—*i. e.* Low-German. At the same time, the Burgundian area was taken by the Langobards during the course of their migration, and, as such was the case, it is by no means unlikely that their body may have been increased by Burgundian accessions. Originally, however, the Langobards, so far as they were German at all, were Angliform, which the populations with which they were subsequently connected were *not*. Hence, no important complications are introduced by the names *Mauringii*, *Assipitti*, *Burgundii*, &c., no important complications in the way of *ethnology*. In the geographical question as to the details of the Langobard migration from North to South they have a value.

CHAPTER XXIII.

VILLAGE ETHNOLOGY—FORMS IN -ING.

§ 152. THE contents of the present chapter are wholly based upon some remarks of Mr. Kemble's in his "Saxons in England." They are founded upon the termination *-ing*, and indicate the possibility of our arriving at a much more minute ethnology than that of the previous chapters. So minute is it that it descends even to the particular populations of particular villages, and suggests an opinion as to the particular family, locality, or political chieftainship of the particular Germans who first occupied them.

The fundamental facts in this line of criticism are the following:—

1. The termination *-as* is, like the *-s* in the modern English, the sign of the plural number in Anglo-Saxon.

2. The termination *-ing* denotes, *in the first instance*, a certain number of individuals collected together, and united with each other as a clan, tribe, family, household.

3. In doing this, it generally indicates a relationship of a *personal* or *political* character. Thus, two *Baningas* may have been connected with each other, and (as such) indicated by the same term from any of the following causes—relationship, subordination to the same chief, origin from the same locality, &c.

4. Of these *personal* connections, the one which is considered to be the commonest is that of *descent* from a common ancestor, so that the termination *-ing* in this case is a real *patronymic*.

5. Such an ancestor need not be real; indeed, he rarely if ever is so. Like the *eponymus* of the classical writers, he is

the hypothetical, or mythologic, progenitor of the clan, sept, or tribe, as the case may be; *i. e.* as Æolus, Dorus, and Ion were to the Æolians, Dorians, and Ionians.

Now, by admitting these facts without limitation, and by applying them freely and boldly to the German populations of England, we arrive at the following inferences.

1. That where we meet two (or more) households, families, tribes, clans, or septs of the same name (that name ending in *-ing*), in different parts of England, we may connect them with each other, either directly or indirectly; directly when we look on the second as an offset from the first; indirectly, when we derive both from some third source.

2. That when we find families, tribes, &c., of the same name, both in Britain and in Germany, we may derive the English ones from the continental.

Now where do we find these names, and in what form?

They are taken more especially from two sources—viz.:—

1. The present maps of England, and—
2. The Anglo-Saxon charters.

In *form*, they are either simple or compound. Thus, in such words as *Mall-ing*, *Bill-ing*, &c. (names of villages at present existing), we have the real, or supposed, patronymic in its simple state. But we have also the same patronymic as the part of certain compounds, so that instead of *Malling*, or *Billing*, we have *Malling-ton*, *Billing-borough*. Such are the modern forms.

In the Anglo-Saxon (as aforesaid) the simple names end in *-as*; so that *Barling* becomes *Beorlingas*—"hujus autem terræ termini sunt isti; ab oriente et a meridie, *Boerlingas*, ab occidente *Uurotaham*, ab aquilone, *Meapaham*.—*Chart. A. S. clii.*

As may be expected, they also appear as the elements of compounds. Thus from the *Annings* (*Anningas*) we have *Anninga-dún* = *Anning-down*.—*Chart. A. S. 445.*

The *a-* is the sign of the genitive plural; so that *Anning-a-dún* = *Anning-orum* planities.

All this looks as if the names in *-ing* were personal—even when we find them applied to geographical localities.

Let us consider them to be so, and then turn our eyes

towards Germany—seeking what we may find in the names there.

In Germany there is no want of geographical terms in *-ing*—*-ing* followed generally by *-en*—as, *Harling-en* in Holland, *Gött-ing-en* in Germany Proper.

Neither is there any want of them, both as *geographical* terms and as *names of families*, and that both in history and legend. We need go no further than the *Traveller's Song* to see this; *e. g.*:—

Ætla ruled the Huns,

Becca the Banings,

Wada the Hælsings,

Meaca the Myrgings,

Mearchealf the Hundings,

Thyle the Rondings,

Breaca the Bundings.—Ll. 35-46.

The German historians speak to the same effect; from Gibbon to the humblest chronicler. Each nation has its royal family, and each royal family has a name ending in *-ng*; sometimes in *-ing*, sometimes in *-ung*. Thus—

The Visigoth line is that of the *Balt-ungs*;

The Ostrogoth that of the *Amal-ungs*;

The Vandal that of the *Ast-ings* (*Ard-ings* in the O. H. G.);

The Burgundians that of the *Gun-ings*.

The total number of names that, partly in the *Codex Diplomaticus* and partly in the ordinary maps, Mr. Kemble either finds or infers is 627; some of which occur more than once, *i. e.* in different parts of England. The *Billing-s*, for instance, are to be found in Bedford, Durham, Kent, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Northumberland, Salop, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight.

These names fall into two divisions:—

a. Those which we have no reason to think other than Angle or Saxon.

b. Those which indicate elements of the migration other than Angle or Saxon.

There is nothing to be said about the former, except that some of them are not only to be considered as Angle on the strength of no other division claiming them, but on the strength of a certain amount of positive evidence (little or much, good or bad, as the case may be), to their Angle character. Thus—if Mr. Kemble be right in naming such places as *Shav-ing-ton* in Cheshire, and *Shev-ing-ton* in Lancashire, *Skef-ing-ton* in Leicestershire, along with *Skeld-ing* in Yorkshire, from the early occupancies of certain *Sceaf-ings* and *Scyld-ings*, respectively, and if he also be right in connecting these forms in *-ing* with the legendary heroes of Beowulf, and the *Traveller's Song*, who are named *Sceaf* and *Scyld*, we may thence proceed to a third step in our investigation, and that will be a sure one. Whatever may be the case with the *Sceafings* and *Scyldings*, *Sceaf* and *Scyld* are Angle heroes—Angle, and specially Angle, Angle rather than Frisian, or Frank—Angle, but (in the case of *Sceaf*) Lombard also.

The second class is more important. Herein the names are both German and English. In Germany, however, they are something concerning which all that is known is something other than Angle—Frisian rather than Angle, or Frank rather than Angle, or (perhaps) Norse rather than German.

Are there many of these names? Whether many or few, what are they?

1. *The Myrgings*.—Is *Myrging* the patronymic which we are to see in such names as *Merr-ing-ton*? Mr. Kemble suggests that it is.

2. *The Wæls-ings*.—Is *Wæls-ing* the patronymic which we are to see in such local names as *Walsh-ing-ham*? Mr. Kemble suggests that it is.

3. *The Dhyr-ings*.—Is *Dhyr-ing* the patronymic which we are to see in such local names as *Thor-ing-ton*, *Terr-ing-ton*, &c.? Mr. Kemble suggests that it is.

Assume this view to be unexceptionable, and, then, as—

1. *The Wælsings* are (probably) *Frank*; and as—
2. *The Myrgings* are (probably) *Burgundian*; and as—
3. *The Dhyrings* are (probably) *Thuringian*—we have the evidence of so many patronymics in favour of believing that certain Burgundians, certain Franks, and certain Thuringians

gians, formed part of the Angle invasion—these, at least; possibly others besides.

And why should this view be other than unexceptionable? Do we not in North America believe, that, *as a general rule*, the families with particular names coincide with the families so called in England; that the names of certain places, *sometimes*, at least, indicate a population originating in places similarly designated here? that the Smiths and Johnstons are English in origin, and that the O'Connors and O'Neils are Irish? We certainly believe all this, and, in many cases, we believe it on the ground of the identity of name only.

Exceptions.—Still there are exceptions. Of these the most important are as follows:—

1. The termination *-ing* is sometimes added to an undoubtedly British root, so as visibly to have originated within the island, rather than to have been brought from the Continent, *e.g.* the *Kent-ings* = *the people of Kent*.

2. The termination *-ing* is often appended to ordinary *local* names; names so thoroughly local as to put the notion of any personal *eponymus* out of the question. This, indeed, was the case with the word *Kenting* just quoted. But there are numerous others as well. The *Syrians*, for instance, to go no further than the *Traveller's Song*, are *Ex-syr-ings* (Qu.? *As-syrians*.)

Mid Israelum ic wæs,
And mid Ex-syringum.

or,

With the Israelites I was,
And with the Ex-syrings.

3. The termination *-ing* is more than once the *third* element of a compound and derivative name, the *second* being an undoubted *geographical* form. Thus the *Codex Diplomaticus* gives us the names *Bryt-ford-ing-as*, and *Ugga-ford-ing-as*.

The evidence, then, is strong against the notion of the forms in *-ing* being *exclusively* of personal origin; *i.e.* it is strong against the forms in *-ing*, *patronymic as they may be*, being *exclusively* like such names as *Cornelii* in Rome, or *Campbell* in the Scotch Highlands. On the contrary, *some* of them are names as purely local, or geographical, as *Kent*, *Syria*,

or *Brentford*, names which need not necessarily, *even on English soil*, be of Angle origin, names which may, in some cases, be even British.*

On the other hand, it may fairly be admitted, that *some* of such names are actually personal: the proportion of them being a point for future investigators.

Say, however, that a certain number of these are known. Say, for instance, that the three before us may safely be dealt with as the names of a *clan*, *sept*, *gens*, or *company* of the Myrgings, Thuring, and Wælsings. It by no means follows that, when they reappear in the *Non-angle* parts of Germany, they do so *exclusively*. They may (any or each) be Angle as well—Angle, though not known to be so. In Belgium there is a place called *Dorringen*. Is this the English *Thorington*? Perhaps it is. If so, and if *Thor-ington* be *Thur-ingian*, *Dorr-ingen* is Thuringian also. Why, however, should not the same root be original and indigenous to the two countries?

§ 153. The following extract gives us the distribution of these forms in *-ing*:—

Bedford	22	Kent	60
Berks	22	Lancashire	26
Bucks	17	Leicester	19
Cambridge	21	Lincolnshire	76
Cheshire	25	Middlesex	12
Cornwall	2	Monmouth	0
Cumberland	6	Norfolk	97
Derby	14	Northampton	35
Devon	24	Northumberland	48
Dorset	21	Nottingham	22
Durham	19	Oxford	31
Essex	48	Rutland	4
Gloucester	46	Salop	34
Hereford	15	Somerset	45
Hertford	10	Southampton	33
Huntingdon	16	Stafford	19

* They may even be *Roman*. I have long thought that the famous *Wat-l-ing-street* may be *Via Vitaliana*, the road made by *Vitalis*, whose name as that of an engineer we find in an inscription.

Suffolk	56	Westmoreland	2
Surrey	18	Wilts	25
Sussex	68	Worcester	13
Warwick	31	York (3 Ridings)	127

“It is remarkable how many of these names still stand *alone*, without any addition of *-wíc*, *-hám*, *-worčig*, or similar words. The total number of patronymical names thus found (in the nominative plural) is 190, or very nearly one-seventh of the whole: they are thus distributed: in Kent, 25; Norfolk and Sussex each 24; Essex 21; Suffolk 15; Yorkshire 13; Lincoln 7; Southampton 6; Berks and Surrey, 5 each; Bedfordshire, Lancashire, Middlesex, and Northampton, 4 each; Hertford, Huntingdon, Northumberland, and Nottingham, 3 each; Cambridge, Derby, Dorset, Gloucester, and Oxford, 2 each; Bucks, Devon, Leicester, Salop, Somerset, Warwick, and Wilts, 1 each; and none at all in the remaining ten counties. When now we consider that of 190 such places, 140 are found in the counties on the eastern and southern coasts; and that 22 more are in counties easily accessible through our great navigable streams, we shall be led to admit the possibility of these having been the original seats of the Marks bearing these names; and the further possibility of the settlements distinguished by the addition of *-hám*, *-wíc* and so forth to these original names, having been filial settlements, or as it were colonies, from them.”—(Vol. i., pp. 478, 479).

I lay all this before the reader for his consideration and criticism. That *some* exceptions lie against the line of criticism has been seen. On the other hand, the *distribution* of the forms in *-ing* is remarkable.

If we turn to the map of Germany and investigate it minutely, we may possibly find something to explain it. I have not, however, undertaken the investigation. All that I can say is, that whatever may be the proportion of the forms in *-ing* to the other terminations of local names in the other parts of Germany, they are conspicuously abundant in Hanover, Oldenburg, Holstein, and East Friesland.

Their form is either simple or compound—when simple, the final syllable is *-en* rather than *-as*—*e.g.* Gött-*ing-en*, Harl-*ing-en*, &c. In this latter word the initial element is equally English and German—as is the case with some other names.

The commonest addition to the syllable *-ing* in English is *-ton*, as Terring-*ton*.

The commonest addition to the syllable *-ing* (*-ing-en*) in German is *-häusen* or *husen* (*houses*), a form which may be said to replace *-ton*—*e. g.* Kell-*ing-husen*.

Admitting that *some* of the initial elements of the compounds and derivatives in question are *personal* names, how did they originate? It is no answer to say that they were the names of certain *eponymi*.

What was the relation of the *eponymus* to his *eponymia*? My own opinion is, that if any explanation of this obscure point be to be found at all it lies in the following text of Tacitus: "Principes pro victoriâ pugnant: comites pro principe. Si civitas in quâ orti sunt longâ pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adolescentium eas petunt ultro nationes, quæ tum bellum aliquod gerunt," &c.

This gives us something like a free company. Of this let the captain be named (say) *Heard*, and his followers may become *Heard-ing-as*.

I only suggest this; and, along with it, I also suggest an element of doubt. The twelfth chapter has shown how large a proportion of the Angle names were compound, whereas the forms in *-ing* generally give us a simple and monosyllabic initial element.

CHAPTER XXIV.

RELATIONS OF THE ENGLISH TO THE LANGUAGES OF GER-
MANY IN GENERAL.

§ 154. THREE German forms of speech have been noticed—the Old Saxon, the Angle, and the Frisian.

But they are only three out of several; we may say, three out of many.

Forms of speech such as the Frank, the Thuringian, &c., have been named. So have forms of speech called Norse, Icelandic, or Scandinavian.

All this means that, just as the English is one division of a group containing the Old Saxon and the Frisian besides, so may the Old Saxon and the Frisian (along with the English) constitute a division of some higher group or genus.

Which of the members of this same group or genus shall we take first; the Frisian, the Angle, and the Old Saxon, having already been considered? Of the remaining languages of the German class we begin with the ones which are most like those that have already been illustrated.

Now these *diverge*, *i. e.* the Frisian leads in one direction, the Old Saxon in another.

Each of these tongues is conterminous with some other member of the German division, some known member with which we can compare it. The Anglo-Saxon, on the other hand, had such portions of its frontier as have not already been under treatment—such portions of its frontier as were not either Frisian or Old Saxon—either Slavonic (and, as such, not German at all), or else North Hessian and Thuringian. Hence, it was only in the direction of those two forms of speech that it could graduate into any other member of its class.

But the early forms of the North Hessian and North Thuringian are as unknown as the southern forms of the Angle.

Hence—the two *outside* and *osculant* languages (so to say), the languages that lead to other members of their class, are the Frisian and Old Saxon.

Of these the former points to Scandinavia; the latter to Southern Germany.

The former leads to the Icelandic, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Feroic, the latter to the Platt-Deutsch, and High German—also to the Mœsogothic.

Whether we begin with the Frisian or the Old Saxon we come to the same class of dialects. These are, on the south and south-west of the Old Saxon and Frisian frontiers the Dutch of Holland, and on the south and south-east the numerous Platt-Deutsch (so called) forms of speech of Westphalia, and the Lower Rhine.

§ 155. *The Dutch of Holland.* — Nearly akin to the English, and still more nearly akin to the Frisian on its northern and the Platt-Deutsch of Westphalia on its eastern frontier is the Dutch of Holland, of which the Flemish of Belgium is only a modification. South of the Flemish frontier comes the French of Artois and Picardy, no German tongue at all but one belonging to another class of languages. The Dutch of Holland extends a little into Germany, the dialect of part of Cleves being more Dutch than Platt-Deutsch—so far, at least, as the two are distinguished from each other.

The Dutch of Holland falls into dialects and sub-dialects, *e. g.* the Groningen, the Guerderland, the Zealand, the Brabant, &c.

The *stages* of the Dutch of Holland are somewhat indistinct. Samples of any dialect of the Seven Provinces of equal antiquity with the oldest Frisian, the oldest Old Saxon, and the Anglo-Saxon there are none. On the other hand the Old Frisian and Old Saxon are closely akin to what such specimens would be if they existed—indeed more than one scholar has dealt with the *Carolinian Psalms* as if they were Old Dutch, and noticed them under that name.

The earliest important work in true Dutch is the Chronicle of Melis Stoke, about A.D. 1300.

SPECIMENS.

MARK, chap. i.

1. Het begin des evangelies van Jesus Christ, den Zoon van God.
2. Gelijk geschreven is in de Profeten: ziet, Ik zend mijnen Engel voor uw aangezicht, die uwen weg voor u heen bereiden zal.
3. De stem des roependen in de woestijn: bereidt den weg des Heeren, maakt zijne paden regt!
4. Johannes was doopende in de woestijn, en predikende den doop der bekeering tot vergeving der zonden.
5. En al het Joodsche land ging tot hem uit, en die van Jerûzalem; en werden allen van hem gedoopt in the rivier de Jordaan, belijdende hunne zonden.
6. En Johannes was gekleed met kemelshaar, en met eenen lederen gordel om zijne lendenen, en at sprinkhannen en wilden honig.
7. En hij predikte, zeggende: na mij komt, die sterker is dan ik, wien ik niet waardig ben, nederbukkende, den riem zijner schoenen te ontbinden.
8. Ik heb ulieden wel gedoopt met water, maar hij zal u doopen met den Heiligen Geest.

Now compare the following with the Old Saxon of the *Carolinian Psalms* (p. 84).

2. Hoor God! mijn gebed, en verwerp niet mijne bede! denk tot (aan) mij, en hoor mij.
3. Ontroerd ben ik en mijne bezigheheden en misstrootig ben ik van de stem des vijands en van het leed (mij) van den zondigen (aangedaan).
4. Want zij neigden op mij het onrecht, en in verbolgenheid waren zij mij onzoet.
5. Mijn hart is ontroerd in mij, en de vries des doods overviel mij.
6. Vries on beving kwamen over mij en duisternis bedeckte mi.
7. En ik zeide, wie zal mij geven vederen als van eene duif; en ik sal vliegen en zal rusten.

In English.

2. Hear God bidding mine; and not fore-warp (reject) biddings mine; think to me; and hear me.

3. Saddened be (I) on toil mine; and mistrust be (I) from voice enemies' (fiends), and from labour (of the) sinful.

4. When then they charged on me unright, and on rage unsweet were (to) me.

5. Heart mine is troubled on me, and fright deaths' fell over me.

6. Fright and trembling came over me, and decked (covered) me darkness.

7. And I quoth, who shall give me feathers al-so-as (of a) dove; and I flee shall, and rest shall.

§ 156. *The Platt-Deutsch* Dialects.*—*Platt* means *Broad* or *Flat*. For some reason or other it has become current as a term in German philology. The Germans of Suabia, Franconia, and the countries on the upper parts of the Rhine, Weser, and Oder, thus denominate the dialects of the *Lower* Rhine, the *Lower* Weser, the *Lower* Oder, the *Lower* Vistula, &c.

Such is the meaning of the word in its narrower and more limited sense—the meaning which it takes in the mouth of an ordinary German who names the dialects of his country according to the current nomenclature.

But there is a wider meaning as well. Each and all of the languages that have up to the present time commanded our attention are not only German, but German with special Platt-Deutsch affinities. Thus the Frisian, the Dutch of Holland, the Anglo-Saxon, the English, and the Old Saxon are all liker to the dialects of the Lower Rhine, the Lower Weser, &c., than they are to the Suabian, the Franconian, the Bavarian, &c.

This engenders a complication. Sometimes the word means some particular dialect of Westphalia, Oldenburg, Hanover, Holstein, Sleswick, Mecklenburg, &c., to the exclusion of the English, Frisian, and Dutch of Holland; and sometimes it means the English, Dutch, Westphalian, &c., collectively. Hence, it is correct to say, that the language of Overysel or Guelderland is Dutch rather than Platt-Deutsch, Dutch like the literary language of Holland, rather than any provincial

* Pronounced *Doitsh*.

dialect of Westphalia. And it is also correct to say that the English of England is a Platt-Deutsch form of speech.

All this is correct. Whether it be convenient is another matter.

In the present work *Platt-Deutsch* (the German term) will represent the provincial dialects of Northern Germany—the provincial dialects of the *Lower* (and Middle) Rhine, Weser, Oder, &c.; whereas the more generic expression for the group containing the English, &c., will be *Low-German*, *i. e.* the German of the *Lower* course of the Rhine, &c.

Hence there is a *Platt-Deutsch* sub-section of the *Low-German* section.

I cannot say whether any Platt-Deutsch dialect absolutely graduates into the Dutch of Holland, nor yet can I give (either geographically or philologically) an exact line of demarcation between the southern Platt-Deutsch and the northern High-German divisions. I cannot even say in which quarter the relationship is the closest, *i. e.* whether the most like forms of the Dutch of Holland and the Platt-Deutsch of Westphalia, are liker each other than the likest dialects of the Platt-Deutsch and High-German. Such divisions, however, are often drawn. Few writers make the Hessian of the middle parts of Hesse other than High-German. Yet, it contains more than one of the so-called Low-German characteristics.

The points connected with the Platt-Deutsch which are the most certain, and not the least important, are the following:—

1. It is more High-German than any of the forms of speech hitherto noticed—more High-German than the Old Saxon, the Anglo-Saxon, the Dutch, the Frisian. Hence—

2. Its original *situs* is to the south (south-west) of those forms of speech, *i. e.* on the High-German frontier. No one has ever said that any of the above-named languages graduate into the Franconian, or the Hessian; many have said that some of the Rhenish forms of the Platt-Deutsch do.

3. From this it spread northward and north-eastwards—the Franks of the Carolinian period being its chief propagators, and the districts it invaded being Westphalia, Oldenburg, Hanover, Altmark, Brunswick, Lauenburg, Holstein, Sleswick,

Mecklenburg, Pomerania, West Prussia, East Prussia, Courland, Livonia, Esthonia (these last imperfectly).

To all these countries it was originally foreign—the native languages being—

1. In Westphalia, Oldenburg, Hanover, Brunswick, and part of Holstein, the Old and Anglo-Saxon.

2. In Lauenburg, part of Holstein, Altmark, Luneburg, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, the Slavonic.

3. In West (?) and East Prussia, Courland, and South Livonia, the Lithuanic or Lett.

4. In North Livonia and Esthonia (German being spoken at Reval, and even in Narva), the Fin of Esthonia.

To these add the original districts from which it was diffused, which I hold to have been the parts on the Lower and Middle Rhine about Cologne, and you have the vast area of the Platt-Deutsch of Germany—the descendant of the Carolinian (or Carlovingian) Frank.

The *stages* of the Platt-Deutsch are equally obscure with those of the Dutch of Holland—more so. Of the different forms of it, as spoken at the present moment, there are abundant specimens, specimens of which the collection of Firminich* is a rich repertorium. But the analogues of the Anglo-Saxon, the analogues of the Old and Middle English, are scarce, in some cases non-existent. For the term in its wider and more general sense—for the Low-German—we have them, *e. g.* there are the *Carolinian Psalms*, the *Heliand*, &c.; but these are Old Saxon—Old Saxon of Westphalia.

Now linear descendants of these last-named forms of speech we have none. They were displaced on the spot where they were spoken by the Carolinian Frank. But this was not written and preserved until a comparatively late period—later in some parts than in others, late in the parts where the Slavonic was the original tongue, later still where the Lithuanic was. I cannot say when and where, for each particular portion of the present Platt-Deutsch area, the earliest extant specimen was put to paper, and handed down. I believe it was in the parts about Hamburg, Lübeck, &c. As a general rule, however, we may state that the forms of speech of that

* Firminich Volkenstimmen Germaniens.

part of the present Platt-Deutsch area, which, without being Frank, was originally German, have left no modern representatives, and that the Frank which displaced them is not known in any old form—*i. e.* no form contemporary with the Anglo-Saxon, or Old Frisian.

But there was the *original* Frank area, the part of Germany where the form of speech took birth, and whence it spread. What have we here? What have we for the Lower and Middle Rhine, for South-Western Westphalia? Nothing which is at one and the same time sufficiently definite to represent a separate substantive division, and also of high antiquity. The *Gospel Harmony* of Tatian is generally called *Frank* (*Francic*), but it has much which is more High-German than Platt-Deutsch. Shall we say that even in the earliest times, and in their most special localities, the Frank (the mother of the Platt-Deutsch) was, for the purposes of literature, more or less High-German? I speak on this point with diffidence, but, at the same time, think that such a view is far from incorrect.

§ 157. *The High-German.*—By taking extreme forms we may easily get High-German specimens which differ visibly from the Platt-Deutsch.

We may get this from two quarters, *i. e.* either from the literary language of the present Germans and their forerunners, or from the more extreme provincial dialects, *e. g.* the Bavarian, or the Swiss.

How far is the literary High-German of the present time a real language; or how far is it a language of the author and the schoolmaster?

In the work of Firminich, already quoted, there is no part of Germany of the size of the county of Leicester, without a sample of its dialect. Yet it is safe to say that none of these approaches the written language so closely as the ordinary language of Huntingdon and Northampton approaches the written English.

Again,—ask in Germany where the best German is spoken—*best* meaning the *highest*. The answer is, in Hanover or Brunswick—Platt-Deutsch districts.

SPECIMENS.

1.

FROM LESSING'S FABLES.

HERKULES.

Als Herkules in den Himmel aufgenommen ward, machte er seinen gruss unter allen Göttern der Juno zuerst. Der ganze Himmel und Juno erstaunte darüber. "Deiner Feindin," rief man ihm zu, "begegnest du so vorzüglich?" "Ja, ihr selbst;" erwiderte Herkules. "Nur ihre Verfolgungen sind es, die mir zu den Thaten Gelegenheit gegeben, womit ich den Himmel verdienet habe."

Der Olymp billigte die Antwort des neuen Gottes, und Juno ward versöhnt.

In English.

As Hercules in the Heaven up-taken was, made he his greeting, under (among) all Gods, to Juno at (to) first. The whole Heaven and Juno were astonished thereon (over). "Thy female enemy (fiend)," cried they him to, "meetest thou so preferably?" "Yes, herself," answered Hercules, "only her persecutions are it, which me to the deeds opportunity (have) given, wherewith I the Heaven earned have.

The Olympus approved the answer of the new God, and Juno was reconciled.

2.

FROM HERDER.

Horch, horch die Lerch' am Himmelsthür singt,
 Die liebe Sonn' wacht auf;
 Aus allen Blümkelchen trinkt
 Sie schon ihr öpfer auf.
 Das Hochzeitknöspfchen freundlich winkt,
 Und thut sein Äuglein auf;
 Was hold und lieb ist, freundlich blinkt,
 Wach schönes Kind wach auf,
 Wach auf;
 Wach schönes Kind wach auf.

This is a translation from the song in "Cymbeline":—

Hark! the lark at Heaven's gate sings;
 The sun begins to rise:

His steed to water at those springs,
 On chaliced flowers that lies.
 And winking Mary-buds begin,
 To ope their golden eyes;
 And everything that pretty bin;
 My Ladye sweet arise,
 Arise,
 My Ladye sweet arise.

Literally.

Hark! Hark! the lark at Heaven's door sings,
 The dear (*love*) Sun wakes up;
 Out of all bloom-chalices drinks
 She (the *sun*, which is feminine) already their offering up
 The batchelor's button friendly looks.
 And does its eye-ling up (= opens little eye).
 What gracious and dear is friendly winks,
 Wake, fair child, wake up.
 Wake up, &c.

From New Testament, MARK i. 1-8.

1. Diess ist der Anfang des Evangelii von Jesu Christo, dem Sohne Gottes.
2. Als geschrieben stehet in den Propheten: Siehe, Ich sende meinen Engel vor dir her, der da bereite deinen Weg vor dir.
3. Es ist eine Stimme eines Predigers in der Wüste: Bereitet den Weg des Herrn, machet seine Steige richtig.
4. Johannes der war in der Wüste, taufte und predigte von der Taufe der Busse, zur Vergebung der Sünden.
5. Und es gieng zu ihm hinaus das ganze Jüdische Land, und die von Jerusalem, und liessen sich alle von ihm taufen im Jordan, und bekannten ihre Sünden.
6. Johannes aber war bekleidet mit Kameelshaaren, und mit einem ledernen Gürtel um seine Lenden, und ass Heuschrecken und wilden Honig;
7. Und predigte und sprach: Es kommt einer nach mir, der ist stärker, denn ich, dem ich nicht genugsam bin, dass ich mich vor ihm bücke, und die Riemen seiner Schuhe auflöse.
8. Ich taufe euch mit Wasser, aber er wird euch mit dem heiligen Geiste taufen.

The Old High-German, called also Francic and Alemannic, was spoken in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, in Suabia, Bavaria, and Franconia. It is in the Old High-German that the *Krist* of Otfrid, the *Psalms* of Notker, the *Canticle* of Willeram, the *Glosses* of Kero, the *Vita Annonis*, &c., are composed.

SPECIMEN.

KRIST, i. 12. (Edit. Graff.)

Tho uuarun thar in lante hirta haltente;
 Thes fehes datun uuarta uuidar fianta.
 Zi in quam boto sconi, engil scinenti;
 Joh uuurtun sie inliuhte fon himilisgen lichte.
 Forihtun sie in tho gahun so sinan anasahun;
 Joh hintarquamun harto thes Gotes boten uuorto.
 Sprah ther Gotes boto sar. "Ih scal íú sagen uuuntar.
 Ju scal sin fon Gote heil; nales forahta nihein.
 Ih scal iu sagen imbot, gibot ther himilisko Got;
 Ouh nist ther er gihorti so fronisg arunti.
 Thes uuirdit uuorolt sinu zi euuidon blidu,
 Joh al gischaft thiú in uuorolti thesa erdun ist ouh dretenti
 Niuuui boran habet thiz lant then himilisgon Heilant;
 The ist Druhtin Krist guater fon iungeru muater.
 In Bethleem thiue kuninga thie uuarun alle thanana,
 Fon in uuard ouh giboran iu sin muater magad sconu.
 Sagen ih íú, guate man, uuio ir nan sculut findan,
 Zeichen ouh gizami thuruh thaz seltsani.
 Zi theru burgi faret hinana, ir findet, so ih íú sageta,
 Kind niuuui boranaz in kripphun gilegitaz."
 Tho quam unz er zin tho sprah engilo heriscap,
 Himilisku menigi, sus alle singenti—
 "In himilriches hohi si Gote gualliche;
 Si in erdu fridu ouh allen thie fol sin guates uuillen."

The Same, in English.

Then there was in the land herdsmen feeding:
 Of their cattle they made watch against foes.
 To them came a messenger fair, an angel shining,
 And they became lit with heavenly light.
 They feared, suddenly as on him they looked;
 And followed much the words of God's messenger:

Spake there God's messenger strait, "I shall to you say wonders.
 To you shall there be from God health; fear nothing at all.
 I shall to you say a message, the bidding of the heavenly God:
 Also there is none who has heard so glad an errand.
 Therefore becomes his world for ever blythe,
 And all creatures that in the world are treading this earth.
 Newly borne has this land the heavenly Savior,
 Who is the Lord Christ, good, from a young mother.
 In Bethlehem, of the kings they were all thence—
 From them was also born his mother, a maid fair.
 I say to you, good men, how ye him shall find,
 A sign and token, through this wonder.
 To your burgh fare hence, ye find, so as I to you said,
 A child, new born, in a crib lying."
 Then came, while he to them spake, of angels a host,
 A heavenly retinue, thus all singing:
 "In the heavenly kingdom's highth be to God glory;
 Be on earth peace also to all who are full of God's will."

The Middle High-German ranges from the thirteenth century to the Reformation.

§ 158. *The Mæso-Gothic*.—The Goths who sacked Rome under Alaric, and who succeeded to the empire of Augustulus under Theodoric, were of German origin, and the language that they spoke was German also. It is called the Mæso-Gothic.

Of this language we have a specimen, not later than the fourth century; and as no Anglo-Saxon work is of equal antiquity, the Mæso-Gothic is considered to be the oldest of all the German tongues. The meaning of the word will be understood if, by following the course of the Danube, we reach the Roman province of Mœsia. The *earliest* inhabitants of this province were not akin to any of the tribes of Germany, any more than the original Britons of England were akin to the Anglo-Saxon invaders. Before the end, however, of the second century they were conquered by tribes from the south-eastern parts of Germany. These were called Goths, or, more specifically, the Goths of Mœsia.

SPECIMEN.

MARK, chap. i.

1. ANASTODEINS aivaggeljons iesuis xristaus sunaus guþs. sve
2. gameliþ ist in esai in praufetau. sai. ik insandja aggilu meina-
3. na faura þus. saei gamanveiþ vig þeinana faura þus. stibna
4. vopjandins in aupidai. manveiþ vig frauþins. raihtos vaur-
5. jah merjands daupein idreigos du aflageinai fravaurhte. jah
6. usiddjedun du imma all iudaialand jah iairusaulymeis jah
7. daupidai vesun allai in iaurdane awai fram imma andhaitan-
8. dans fravaurhtim seinaim. vasuþ-þan iohannes gvasiþs taglam
9. ulbandaus jah gairda filleina bi hup seinana jah matida þram-
10. steins jah miliþ haiþivisk jah merida qiþands. qimiþ svinþoza
11. mis sa afar mis. þizei ik ni im vairþs anahneivands andbindan
12. skaudaraip skohe is. aþþan ik dauþja izvis in vatin. iþ is
13. daupeiþ izvis in ahmin veihamma. jah varþ in jainaim dagam.
14. qam iesus fram nazaraiþ galeilaias jah dauþiþs vas fram io-
15. hanne in iaurdane. jah suns usgaggands us þamma vatin
16. gasaw usluknans himinans jah ahman sve ahak atgaggandan
17. ana ina. jah stibna qam us himinam. þu is sunus meins sa
18. liuba. in þuzei vaila galeikaida. jah suns sai. ahma ina
19. ustauh in aupida. jah vas in þizai aupidai dage fidvortiguns
20. fraisans fram satanin jah vas miþ diuzam jah aggileis andbah-
21. tidedun imma. iþ afar þatei atgibans varþ iohannes. qam
22. iesus in galeilaia merjands aivaggeljon þiudangardjos guþs
23. qiþands þatei usfullnoda þata mel jah atnewida sik þiudangardi
24. guþs. idreigoþ jah galaubeiþ in aivaggeljon. jah warbonds
25. faur marein galeilaias gasaw seimonu jah andraian broþar is.
26. þis seimonis. vairpandans nati in marein. vesun auk fisk-
27. jans. jah qaþ im iesus. hirjats afar mis jah gatauþa igqis
28. vairþan nutans manne. jah suns affetandans þo natja sein-
29. a laistidedun afar imma. jah jainþro inngaggands framis leiti
30. gasaw iakobu þana zaibaidaiaus jah iohanne broþar is jah þans
31. in skipa manvjandans natja. jah suns haihait ins jah affetan-
32. dans attan seinana zaibaidaiu in þamma skipa miþ asnjam ga-
33. liþon afar imma jah galiþun in kafarnaum. jah suns sabbato
34. daga galeiþands in synagogen laisida ins jah usfilmans vaurþun
35. ana þizai laiseinai is. unte vas laisjands ins sve valdufni ha-
36. bands jah ni svasve þai bokarjos. jah vas in þizai synagogen
37. iþe manna in unhrainjamma ahmin jah ufthropida qiþands.

24. fralet. wa uns jah þus iesu nazorenai. qamt fraqistjan uns
25. kann þuk was þu is. sa veiha guþs. jah andbait ina iesus
qipands. þahai jah usgagg ut us þamma. ahma unhrainja.
26. jah tahida ina ahma sa unhrainja jah hropjands stibnai mikilai
27. usiddja us imma. jah afslauþnodedun allai sildaleikjandans.
svaei sokidedun miþ sis misso qipandans. wa sijai þata. wo
so laiseino so niujo. ei miþ valdufnja jah ahmam þaim
28. unhrainjam anabiudiþ jah ufhausjand imma. usiddja þan
29. meriþa is suns and allans bisitands galeilaias. jah suns us
þizai synagogen usgaggandans qemun in garda seimonis jah
30. andraiins miþ iokobau jah iohannem. iþ svaihro seimonis log
31. in brinnon. jah suns qeþun imma bi ija. jah duatgaggands
urraisida þo undgreipands handu izos. jah affailot þo so brinno
32. suns jah andbahtida im. andanahtja þan vaurþanamma. þan
gasaggq sauil. berun du imma allans þans ubil habandans
33. jah unhulþons habandans. jah so baurgs alla garunnana vas
34. at daura. jah gahailida managans ubil habandans missaleikaim
sauhtim jah unhulþons managos usvarp jah ni fralailot rodjan
35. þos unhulþons. unte kunþedun ina. jah air uhtvon usstan-
36. dans usiddja jah galaiþ ana auþjana stap jah jainar baþ. jah
37. galaistans vaurþun imma seimon jah þai miþ imma. jah bigi-
38. tandans ina qeþun du imma þatei allai þuk sokjand. jah qap
du im. gaggam du þaim bisunjane haimom jah baurgim. ei
39. jah jainar merjau. unte duþe qam. jah vas merjands in sy-
nagogim iþe and alla galeilaian jah unholþons usvairpands.
40. jah qam at imma þrutsfill habands bidjands ina jah knivam
knussjands jah qipands du imma þatei. jabai vileis. magt
41. mik gahrainjan. iþ iesus inþeinands ufrakjands handu seinu
42. attaitok imma jah qap imma. viljau. vairþ hrains. jah biþe qap
þata iesus. suns þata þrutsfill affaiþ af imma jah hrains varþ.
43. jah gawotjands imma suns ussandida ina jah qap du imma.
44. saiw ei mannhun ni qipais vaiht ak gagg þuk silban ataugjan
gudjin jah atbair fram gahraineinai peinai. þatei anabaup
45. mores du veitvodiþai im. iþ is usgaggands dugann merjan
filu jah usqiþan þata vaurd. svasve is juþan ni mahta andaugjo
in baurg galeiþan ak uta ana auþjaim stadim vas. jah iddje-
dun du imma allapro.

To the first eight verses the following notes apply, the remainder being to be made out by reference to the chapter from which the extract is taken.

MÆSO-GOTHIC.

Anastodeins, beginning, lit., up-standing — *ga-meliþ*, written, painted, German, *mahlen* = *paint*. The *ga* is the sign of the participle; one word in English preserves it, viz. *y-clept* = *called*; A. S. *clepian* = *to call* — *aggilu*, ἄγγελος — *gamanveip*, prepare — *stibna*, voice; German, *stimme* — *vopjandins*, crying; weep-ing — *aupidai*, German, *öde* = *waste*. — *Fanins*, of the Lord, one of the many Slavonic words in Ulphilas = *Pan* = *dominus* — *staigos*, ways = German, *stieg*; Danish, *stie* = *way* — *daupjands*, baptize = *dip* — *merjands*, proclaiming, preaching — *idreigos*, repentance. This has been looked upon as a Keltic word *aflageina*, away-laying; *fravaurhté*, of sins; foreworks; the *fore*, as in *forswear* — *usiddjedun*, out-goed, out-yode — *awai*, water, river; *aha*, Old German, *aa*, Norse — *andhaitandans*; *and* = *coram*, *hait* = *voco*, as in *hight* = *is called*, bears the name: = *proclaiming*, *confessing*; *gavasiþs*, clothed; from *vasjan* = *to clothe* — *taglam*, hair (word for word); *tail*, *tægel*, A. S. — *ulbandaus* (word for word) *elephant* — *gairda filleina* — *fell* (as in *fell-monger*), girdle — *hup*, hips — *þramsteins*, twigs (such the translation, not *grasshoppers*) — *mileþ haipivisk*, heath-honey; *qipands*, saying (*queathing*, as in *quothe*, *bequeathe*) — *swinþoza*, stronger, A. S. *swiðe* = *very*. Comparative in *z* (s). *Sa* = *who*; *anahneivands*, stooping, bending (*kneeling*); — *skauda-raip*, latchet; *izvis*, you; *vatn*, water; Lithuanic, *wandu*; Danish, *vand*; Swedish, *vatn*; *ahmen*, spirit; *veihamma*, holy.

§ 159. *The Scandinavian languages*.—Allied to each other, and allied to the languages of Germany are the following forms of speech; forms of speech which we may call *Scandinavian*, or *Norse*:—

1. The Icelandic of Iceland; closely akin to which is the
2. Feroic of the Feroe Isles; and also
3. Several of the more archaic provincial dialects of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.
4. The literary language of Sweden, and
5. The literary language of Denmark and Norway.

§ 160. *The literary Danish*.—This is Norwegian as well.

SPECIMEN.

1.

Kong Christian stod ved höien Mast,
 I Rög og Damp;
 Hans Værges hamrede saa fast,
 At Gothens Hjelm og Hjerne brast;
 Da sank hvert fiendtligt Speil og Mast
 I Rög og Damp.
 Flye, skreg de, flye, hvad flygte kan!
 Hvo staaer for Danmarks Christian
 I Kamp?

Niels Juel gav Agt paa Stormens Brag,
 Nu er det Tid!
 Han heisede det röde Flag,
 Og slog paa Fienden Slag i Slag;
 Da skreg de höit blandt Stormens Brag:
 Nu er det Tid!
 Flye, skreg de, hver, som veed et Skjul!
 Hvo kan bestaae for Danmarks Juel
 I Strid?

Nordhav! Glimt af Vessel bröd
 Din mörke Skye.
 Da tyede Kæmper til dit Skjöd;
 Thi med ham lyned' Skræk og Död.
 Fra Vallen hörtes Vraal, som bröd
 Din tykke Skye.
 Fra Danmark lyner Tordenskjöld;
 Hver give sig i Himlens Vold,
 Og flye!

Du Danskes Vei til Roes og Magt,
 Sortladne Hav!
 Modtog din Ven, som uforsagt
 Tör möde Faren med Foragt,
 Saa stolt, som du, mod Stormens Magt,
 Sortladne Hav!
 Og rask igjennem Larm og Spil
 Og Kamp og Seier för mig til
 Min Grav!

In English.

1.

King Christian stood by high-*the* mast
 In reek and damp,
 His weapon hammered so fast
 That Gothland's helms and brains burst;
 Then sank each hostile (fiendlike) stern and mast
 In reek and damp.
 Fly, shrieked they, fly, what fly can:
 Who stands against Denmark's Christian
 In battle?

Niel Juel gave heed on storms-*the* crash,
 Now is it time.
 He hoists the red flag,
 Eke slew on fiend-*the* blow on blow,
 Then shrieked they high amid storms-*the* crash,
 Now is it time,
 Fly, shrieked they, who knows a shelter:
 Who can stand against Denmark's Juel
 In fight?

O North Sea! flash of Vessel broke
 Thy murky cloud (sky):
 Then took refuge warriors (*champions*) in thy bosom;
 For with him flashed fright and death.
 From battle-fields, heard-*was* cry which broke,
 Thy thick cloud (sky).
 From Denmark flashes Tordenskiold!
 Each give himself in Heaven's power (wealding)
 And fly.

Thou Dane's way to glory and might,
 Dark Sea!
 Accept (*take in meeting*) thy friend, who reckless
 Dare meet danger with contempt,
 So proud as thou, against storms-*the* might,
 Dark Sea!
 And swift through noise and music,
 And fight and victory bear me to (*til*)
 My grave.

2.

NORWEGIAN NATIONAL SONG (*concluding stanzas*).

Frihedens Tempel i Normandens Dale
 Stander saa herligt i Ly af hans Fjeld;
 Frit tør han tænke, og frit tør han tale,
 Frit tør han virke til Norriges Held.

Fuglen i Skove,

Nordhavets Vove

Friere er ei end Norriges Mand;
 Villig dog lyder han selvgivne Love,
 Trofast mod Konning og Fædreneland.

Elskede Land med de skyhöie Bjerge,
 Frugtbare Dale og fiskrige Kyst!
 Troskab og Kjærlighed fro vi Dig sværge!
 Kalder Du, blöde vi for Dig med Lyst.

Evig Du stande,

Elskte blandt Lande!

Frit som den Storm, der omsuser Dit Fjeld;
 Og medens Bölgen omsnoer Dine Strande,
 Stedse Du voxe i Hæder og Held!

In English.

Freedom's temple in Normans-the dales
 Stands so noble in lea of his rock (fell)
 Free dares he think, and free dares he speak,
 Free dares he work til Norway's weal.

Bird (*fowl*)-the in woods (*shaws*)

North-sea's-the waves

Freer is not than Norway's man;
 Willing, however, obeys he self-given laws
 True-fast towards king and fatherland.

Loved land with the sky-high hills (bergs),
 Fruitful valleys, and fish-rich coast!
 Truth and love glad we for thee swear;
 Callest thou, bleed we for thee with pleasure.

Ever thou stand

Loved amongst lands,

Free as the storm that roars round thy fell;
 And (eke) whilst billow-the laps round thy strand,
 Ever thou wax in praise and wellfare.

Danish New Testament.—MARK i. 1-8.

1. Jesu Christi Guds Søns Evangelii Begyndelse.
2. Ligesom skrevet er i Propheterne: See, jeg sender min Enge for dit Ansigt, som skal berede din Vei for dig.
3. Det er hans Røst, som raaber i Örken: bereder Herrens Vei, gjører hans Stier rette.
4. (Saaledes) døbte Johannes i Örken, og prædikede Omvendelsens Daab til Syndernes Forladelse.
5. Og det ganske Land Judæa gik ud til ham, og de af Jerusalem; og alle de, som bekjendte deres Synder, døbtes af ham i Jordans Flod.
6. Men Johannes var klædt i Kameel-Haar, og med et Læderbelte om sin Lend, og aad Græshopper og vild Honning;
7. Og prædikede, og sagde: der kommer den efter mig, som er stærkere end jeg, hvilken jeg ikke er værdig til at bukke mig ned for, og opløse hans Skoerem.
8. Vel har jeg døbt eder med Vand, men han skal døbe eder med den Hellig Aand.

§ 161. *The Literary Swedish.*—This is easily understood by an educated Dane or Norwegian.

SPECIMEN.

From Frithiof's Saga, Canto ix.

1.	1.
Nu är att säga huru	Now is it to say how
Jarl Angantyr satt än	Earl Angantyr sat
Uti sin sal af furu,	In his hall of fir,
Ock drack med sina män;	And drank with his men.
Han var så glad i hågen,	He was so glad in spirit,
Såg ut åt blånad ban,	Looked out on the blue way,
Der solen sjunk i vågen,	Where the sun sank in the wave,
Allt som än gyllne svan.	All as a golden swan.
2.	2.
Vid fönstret gamle Halvar	At the window old Halvar
Stod utanför på vakt.	Stood outside at watch;
Hann vaktade med allvar,	He watched with earnestness,
Gaf ock på mjödet akt.	And eke gave heed to the mead.

En sed den gamle hade ;
 Hann jemt i botten drack ;
 Ock intet ord hann sade ;
 Blott hornett in han stack.

3.

Nu slängde han det vida
 I salen in och qvad,
 " Skepp ser jag böljan rida ;
 " Den färden är ej glad.
 " Män ser jag döden nära,
 " Nu lägga de i land :
 " Ock tvenne jättar bära
 " De bleknade på strand."

4.

Utöfver böljans spegel,
 Från salen Jarl såg ned :
 " Det är Ellidas segel,
 " Och Frithiof, tror jag, med.
 " På gången och på pannan,
 " Känns Thorstens son igen :
 " Så blickar ingen annan
 " I Nordens land som den."

5.

Från dryckesbord held modig
 Sprang Atle Viking då,
 Svartskåggig Berserk, blodig
 Ock grym at se uppå.
 " Nu," skrek han, " vil jag pröfva,
 " Hvad ryktet ment dermed,
 " At Frithiof svärd kann döfva ;
 " Och alldrig ber om fred."

6.

Och upp med honom sprungo
 Hanns bistra kämpar tolf :
 På forhand luften stungo,
 Och svängde svärd ock kolf.

A habit the old one had ;
 He drank even to the bottom,
 And not a word did he say,
 He only stuck the horn in.*

3.

Now he flung it in far
 The hall and said,
 " I see a ship ride the waves ;
 " Whose fare is not glad.
 " I see men near death,
 " They now make the land ;
 " And two giants bear
 " The pale ones on shore."

4.

Over the billows' mirror,
 From his hall the Earl looked
 down :
 " That is Ellida's sail,
 " And Frithiof, I trow, with it.
 " By gait and front
 " Thorsten's son is known ;
 " So looks no other
 " In the Northland as he."

5.

From the drinking-board heroic
 Sprang Atle the Viking then,
 Blackbearded Berserk, bloody
 And grim to look on.
 " Now," shrieked he, " will I
 prove
 " What Fame meant thereby,
 " That Frithiof can dull the
 sword ; †
 " And never prays for quarter."

6.

And up with him sprung
 His fierce champions twelve ;
 Beforehand they beat the air,
 And swung sword and javelin.

* Through the window into the drinking-room.

† Of his enemy, *i.e.* is sword-proof.

De stormade mot stranden,
 Hvor tröttadt drakskepp stod.
 Men Frithiof satt å sanden
 Ock talte kraft och mod.

7.

“Lätt kunde jag dig fälla,”
 Skrek Atle med stort gny.
 “Vill i ditt val dock ställa,
 “Att kämpa eller fly.
 “Men blott om fred du beder
 “Fastän än kämpe hård,
 “Jag som än vän dig leder,
 “Allt up til Jarlens gård.”

8.

“Väl är jag trött af färden;”
 Genmälte Frithiof vred,
 “Dock må vi pröfva svärden,
 “Förr än jag tigger fred.”
 Då såg man stålen ljunga,
 I solbrun kämpehand;
 På Angurvadel's tunga,
 Hvar runa stod i brand.

9.

Nu skiftas svärdshugg dryga,
 Och dråpslag hagla nu;
 Och begges skjöldar flyga,
 På samma gång itu.
 De kämpar utan tadel
 Stå dock i kredsens fast;
 Men skarpt bet Angurvadel,
 Och Atles klinga brast.

10.

“Mod svärdlös man jag svänger,”
 Sad Frithiof, “ei mitt svärd.
 “Men lyster det dig länger,
 “Vi pröfva annan färd.”

They stormed to the strand,
 Where tired the ship stood;
 But Frithiof sat on the sand,
 And talked strength and
 courage.

7.

“Lightly could I fell thee,”
 Shrieked Atle, with great
 roar.
 “But I will give you choice,
 “To fight or fly.
 “Only ask for peace,
 “And though a champion
 hard,
 “I'll lead you as a friend
 “Up to the Earl's house.”

8.

“Well am I tired of the voyage,”
 Answered Frithiof angry;
 “Yet we must try the sword,
 “Ere I beg peace.”
 Then did one see the steel flash
 In the tanned champion-hand.
 On Angurvadel's tongue
 Each rune stood a-burning.

9.

Now heavy sword-cuts are ex-
 changed,
 And death-strokes hail now;
 And both their shields fly
 At the same time in two.
 The warriors without reproach
 Stand still in their circle;
 But sharp hit Angurvadel,
 And Atle's sword broke.

10.

“Against a swordless man I
 swing,”
 Said Frithiof, “not my sword.
 “But if it list thee longer,
 “We try another fashion.”

Som vågor då om hösten,
 De begge storma an;
 Ock ställbeklädda brösten,
 Slå tätt emot hvarann.

11.

De brottades som björnar,
 Uppå sitt fjäll af snö;
 De spände hop som örnar,
 Utöfver vredgad sjö.
 Rodfästad klippa hölle
 Vel knappast ut att stå;
 Ock lummig jernek fölle
 För mindre tag än så.

12.

Från pannan svetten lackar,
 Och bröstet häfves kallt;
 Och buskar, sten, ock backar,
 Uppsparkas öfver allt.
 Med bäfvän slutet bida
 Ställklädde män å strand;
 Det brottandet var vida
 Berömdt i Nordens land.

13.

Til slut dock Frithiof fällde
 Sin fiende til jord,
 Hann knät mod bröstet ställde,
 Och tallte vredens ord.
 "Blott nu mitt svärd jag hade,
 "Du svarte Berserksskäg,
 "Jag genom lifvet lade,
 "På dig den hvassa ägg."

14.

"Det skal ei hinder bringa,"
 Sad Atle stolt i håg.
 "Gå du, ock ta din klinga,
 "Jag licgar som jag låg.

As waves then in autumn
 The two storm on;
 And steel-clad breasts
 Dash close against each other.

11.

They wrestled as bears
 On their hill of snow;
 They grappled as eagles
 Over an angry sea.
 Root-fast cliffs would scarcely
 Hold out to stand;
 And thick iron-oaks would fall
 For lesser blows than such.

12.

From the brow the sweat splashes,
 And the breast heaves cold;
 And bush, stone, and hill
 Are lit-up over all.
 With fright they await the upshot
 The steel-clad men on the
 shore;
 That tussle was wide
 Famed in Northland.

13.

At last, however, Frithiof felled
 His foe to earth,
 He placed his knee against his
 breast,
 And spoke words of rage.
 "If I only had my sword,
 "Thou black Berserk-beard,
 "I would through thy body
 "Pass its sharp edge."

14.

"That be no hindrance,"
 Said Atle proud in spirit.
 "Go thou, and take thy sword,
 "I will be as I have lain.

“Den ena, som den andra,
 “Skal engång Valhall se :
 “Idag skal jag väl vandra ;
 “I morgon du kanske.”

15.

Ei lange Frithiof dröjde ;
 Den lek han sluta vill :
 Han Angurvadel höjde ;
 Men Atle låg dock still.
 Det rörde hjeltens sinne ;
 Sin vrede då hann band ;
 Höll midt i huggett inne,
 Ock tog den fallnes hand.

“The one like the other
 “Shall one day see Vallhall:
 “To-day I go,
 “To-morrow you maybe.”

15.

Not long did Frithiof delay ;
 He will close the game :
 He lifted Angurvadel,
 But Atle lay still.
 That touched the hero's heart,
 He checked his rage,
 Stopped himself half-way in the
 blow,
 And took the fallen-man's
 hand.

From Frithiof's Saga, Canto xvii.

Kung Ring han satt i högbänk om julen och drack mjöd,
 Hos honom satt hans drottning så hvit och rosenröd.
 Som vår och höst dem båda man såg bredvid hvarann,
 Hon var den friska våren, den kulna höst var han.

Då trädde uti salen en okänd gubbe in,
 Från hufvud och till fötter han insvept var i skinn.
 Han hade staf i handen och lutad sågs han gå,
 Men högre än de andra den gamle var ändå.

Han satte sig på bänken längst ned vid salens dörr ;
 Der är de armas ställe ännu, som det var förr.
 De hofmän logo smädligt och sågo till hvarann,
 Och pekade med fingret på luden björnskinnsman.

Då ljungar med två ögon den främmande så hvasst,
 Med ena handen grep han en ungersven i hast,
 Helt varligen han vände den hofman upp och ned
 Då tystnade de andre ; vi hade gjort så med.

In English.

King Ring he sat in high-bench at Yule (*Christmas*), eke drank mead,
 By him sat his queen so white and rosy-red.
 As Spring and Autumn (*harvest*) them both man saw aside-by each
 other,
 She was the fresh spring, the chill harvest was he.

SPECIMENS.

1.

Icelandic (Fareyínga-Saga—Ed. Mohnike).

Ok nú er þat eitthvert sinn um sumarit, at Sigmundr mælti til þoris: "Hvat mun verða, þo at við farim í skóg þenna, er hér er norðr frá garði?" Þórir svarar: "á því er mér eingi forvitni," segir hann. "Ekki er mér svâ gefit," segir Sigmundr, "ok þangat skal ek fara." "þú munt ráða hljóta," segir þúrir, "en brjótum við þa boðorð fóstura míns." Nu fóru þeir, ok hafði Sigmundr viðaröxi eina í hendi sér; koma í skóginn, ok í rjóðr eitt fagurt; ok er þeir hafa þar eigi leingi verit, þá heyra þeir björn mikinn harðla ok grimligan. Þat var viðbjörn mikill, úlfgrár at lit. Þeir hlaupa nu aptra á stiginn þan, er þeir höfðu þangat farit; stigrinn var mjór ok þraurigr, ok hleypr þórir fyrir, en Sigmundr síðar. Dýrit hleypr nú eptir þeim á stiginn, ok verðr því þraungr stigrinn, ok brotna eikrnar fyrir því. Sigmundr snyr þá skjótt út af stignum millum trjáanna, ok biðr þar til er dýrit kemr jafn-fram honum. Þa höggur hann jafnt meðal hlusta á dýrinu með tveim höndum, svâ at exin sökkr. En dýrit fellr áfram, ok er dautt.

Feroic.

Nú vör so til ajna Ferina um Summari, at Sigmundur snakkaji so við Towra: "Kvat man bagga, towat við färin új henda Skowin, új er hér noran-firi Gärin?" Towrur svärrar, "Ikkji hävi e Hu at forvitnast ettir tuj," siir han. "Ikkji eri e so sintur," siir Sigmundur, "og häar skäl e fara." "Tú fert tå at rää," siir Towrur, "men tå browtum við Forbo Fostirfäjr mujns." Nú fowru tajr, og Sigmundur heji ajna öksi til Brennuvi új Hondini; tajr koma in új Skowin, og á ajt väkurt rudda Plos men ikkji häva tajr veri här läjngji, firin tajr hojra kvödt Brak új Skownun, og brät ettir sujgja tajr ajna egvulia stowra Bjödn og gruiska. Tä vä ajn stowr Skowbjödn grågulmut á Litinun. Tair lejpa nú attir á Räsina, sum tajr höddu gingji ettir; Råsin vör mjäv og trong; Towrur lejpur undan, og Sigmundur attaná. Djowri leipur nú ettir tajmum á Råsini; og nú verur Råsin trong kjå tuj, so at Ajkjinar brotnavu frá tuj. Sigmundur snujur tå kvikliani útäf Råsini inimidlum Trjini, og bujar här til Djowri kjemur abajnt han. Tä höggur han bajnt új Ojr-nalystri á Djowrinum við bævun Hondun, so at öxin sökkr in, og Djowri dettir bajnt framettir, og er standejt.

Swedish.

Och nu var det engång om sommaren, som Sigmund sade till Thorer: "Hvad mände väl deraf warda, om vi åter gå ut i skogen, som ligger der norr om gården?" "Det är jag alldeles icke nyfiken att veta," svarade Thor. "Icke går det så med mig," sade Sigmund, "och ditret måste jag." Du kommer då att råda," sade Thor, "men dermed öfverträda vi vår Fosterfaders bud." De gingo nu åstad, och Sigmund hade en vedyxa i handen; de kommo in i skogen, och strat derpå fingo de se en ganska stor och vildsinnt björn, en dråpelig skogsbjörn, varg-grå till färgen. De sprungo då tillbaka på samma stig som de hade kommit dit. Stigen var smal och trång; och Thorer sprang främst, men Sigmund efterst. Djuret lopp nu efter dem på stigen, och stigen blef trång för det-samma, så att träden sönderbrötos i dess lopp. Sigmund vände då kurtigt retaf från stigen, och ställde sig mellan träden, samt stod der, tills djuret kom fram midt för honom. Då fattade han yxan med begge händerna, och högg midt emellan öronen på djuret, så att yxan gick in, och djuret störtade framåt, och dog på stället.

Danish.

Og nu var det engang om Sommeren, at Sigmund sagde til Thorer: "Hvad mon der vel kan flyde af, om vi end gaae hen i den Skov, som ligger her nordenfor Gaarden?" "Det er jeg ikken nysgjerrig efter at vide," svarede Thorer. "Ei gaar det mig saa," sagde Sigmund, "og derud maa jeg." "Du kommer da til at raade," sagde Thorer, "men da overtræde, vi vor Fosterfaders Bud." De gik nu, og Sigmund havde en Vedøxe i Haanden; de kom ind i Skoven, og strax derpaa saae de en meget stor og grum Björn, en drabelig Skovejörn, ulvegaa af Farve. De løb da tilbage ad den samme Sti, ad hvilken de vare komne derhen. Stien var smal og trang; og Thorer løb forrest, men Sigmund bagerst. Dyret løb nu efter dem paa Stien, og Stien blev trang for det, og Træerne brödes i dets. Løb Sigmund dreiede da nu hurtig ud af Stien, og stillede sig imellem Træerne, og stod der indtil Dyret kom frem lige for ham. Da fattede han øxen med begge Hænder, og hug lige imellem ørerne paa Dyret, saa at øxen sank i, og Dyret styrtede fremad, og var dødt paa Stedet.

English.

And now is it a time about the summer, that Sigmund spake to Thorir: "What would become, even if we two go into the wood (shaw), which here is north from the house?" Thorir answers, "Thereto there is to me no curiosity," says he. "So is it not with me," says Sigmund, "and thither shall I go." "Thou mayst counsel," says Thorir, "but we two break the bidding-word of foster-father mine." Now go they, and Sigmund had a wood-axe in his hands; they come into the wood, and into a fair place; and as they had not been there long, they hear a bear, big, fierce, and grim. It was a wood-bear, big, wolf-grey in hue. They run (leap) now back (after) to the path, by which they had gone thither. The path was narrow and strait; and Thorir runs first, and Sigmund after. The beast runs now after them on the path, and the path becomes strait, and broken oaks before it. Sigmund turns then short out of the path among the trees, and bides there till the beast comes even with him. Then cuts he even in between the ears of the beast with his two hands, so that the axe sinks, and the beast falls forwards, and is dead.

2.

From the Edda.

Upp reis 'Oðinn
alda gautr,
ok hann á Sleipni
söðul um lagði;
reið hann niðr ðaðan
Nifheljar til,
mætti hann hvelpi
þeim er or helju kom.

Sá var blóðugr
um brjóst framan,
ok galdrs föður
gól um lengi.
Framm reið Oðinn.
foldvegr dundi,
hann kom at háfu
Heljar ranni.

In English.

Up rose Odin,
 Of men king;
 Eke he on Sleipner
 Saddle on-laid.
 Rode he nether-wards thence
 Nifhel til;
 Met he the whelp;
 Which out of hell came.

He was bloody
 On breast in front;
 Eke at the spell's father
 Barked long.
 Forward rode Odin
 The fieldway dinned:
 He came at the high
 Hell's house.

Note.—This is one of the Norse poems, translated by Gray.

Up rose the king of men with speed,
 And saddled strait his coal-black steed, &c.

Note.—The Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic place the definite article at the end of the word it agrees with. Hence *storm* = *storm*, *storm-en* = *the storm* (*storm-the*).

Again, the same languages have a true passive voice. Hence *höre* = *hear*, *höre-s* = *is heard*, *hörte* = *heard*, *hörte-s*, *was heard* (*heard-was*).

From Snorro's Heimskringla.

III.

Y'NGLINGA SAGA.

KAP. I.

SVA er sagt, at kringla heimsins, sú er mannfólkit byggir, er mjök vag-skorin: gánga höf stór úr útsjánum inn í jordina. Er þat kun-nigt, at haf gengr af Njorvasundum, ok allt út til Jørsala-lands. Af hafinu gengr lángr hafsbotn til landnordrs, er heitir Svartahaf:

sa skilr heims þridjúngana: heitir fyrir austan Asia, en fyrir vestan kalla sumir Evrópa, en sumir Enea. En nordan at Svartahafi gengr Svíþjóð in mikla eda in kalda. Svíþjóð ena miklu kalla sumir menn ecki minni enn Serkland hit mikla; sumir jafna henni við Bláland hit mikla. Hinn neyrdri lutr Svíþjóðar liggr óbygðr af frosti ok kulda, swa sem hinn sydri lutr Blálands er audr af sólarbruna. I Svíþjóð eru stór hérut mörg: þar eru ok margskonar þjóðir undarligar, ok margar túngur: þar eru risar, ok þar eru dverggar: þar eru ok blámennt; þar eru dýr ok drekar furdulega stórin. Ur Nordri frá fjöllum þeim, er fyrir utan eru bygð alla, fellr á um Svíþjóð, sú er at rettu heitir Tanais; hún var fordum köllut Tanaqvísl edr Vanaqvísl; hún kémur til sjávar inu i Svarta-haf. I Vanaqvíslum var þa kallat Vanaland, edr Vanheimr; sú á skiir heimsþridjúngana; heitir fyrir austan Asia, en fyrir vestan Evrópa.

FYRIR austan Tanaqvísl i Asía, var kallat Asa-land edr Asaheimr; en höfutborgina, er i var landinu, kölludu þeir Asgard. En i borginni var höfðingi sá er Odinn var kalladr, þar var blótstadr mikill. Þar var þar sidr at 12 hofgodar vóru æztir; skyldu þeir ráða fyrir blótum ok dómum manna i milli; þat eru Diar kalladir edr drott-nar: þeim skyldi þjónustu veita allr folk ok lotning. Odinn var hermadr mikill ok mjök vídförull, ok eignadiz mörg ríki: han var sva Sigrfæll, at i hvörri orustu feck hann gagn. Ok sva kom at hans menn trúdu því, at hann ætti heimilann sigr i hverri orustu. Þat var háttr hans ef ann sendi menn sína til orustu, edr adrar sendifarar, at hann lagdi adr hendur i höfud þeim, ok gaf þeim bjanak; trúdu þeir at þa mundi vel faraz. Sva var ok um hans menn, hvar sem þeir urdu i naudum staddir á sjá edr á landi, þa kölludu þeir á nafn hans, ok þóttuz jafnan fá af því fro; þar þóttuz þeir ega allt traust er hann var. Hann fór opt sva langt i brot, at hann dvaldiz i ferdinni mörg misseri.

In English.

It is said that the earth's circle which the human race inhabits is torn across into many bights, so that great seas run into the land from the out-ocean. Thus it is known that a great sea goes in at Niorvasund, and up to the land of Jerusalem. From the same sea a long sea-bight stretches towards the north-east, and is called the Black Sea, and divides the three parts of the earth; of which the eastern part is called Asia, and the western is called by some Europa, by some Enea. Northward of the Black Sea lies

Swithiod the Great, or the Cold. The Great Sweden is reckoned by some not less than the Saracens' land; others compare it to the Great Blueland. The northern part of Swithiod lies uninhabited on account of frost and cold, as likewise the southern parts of Blueland are waste from the burning of the sun. In Swithiod are many great domains, and many wonderful races of men, and many kinds of languages. There are giants, and there are dwarfs, and there are also blue men. There are wild beasts, and dreadfully large dragons. On the north side of the mountains which lie outside of all inhabited lands runs a river through Swithiod, which is properly called by the name of Tanais, but was formerly called Tanaquisl, or Vanaquisl, and which falls into the ocean at the Black Sea. The country of the people on the Vanaquisl was called Vanaland, or Vanaheim; and the river separates the three parts of the world, of which the easternmost part is called Asia, and the westernmost Europe.

The country east of the Tanaquisl in Asia was called Asaland, or Asaheim, and the chief city in that land was called Asgaard. In that city was a chief called Odin, and it was a great place for sacrifice. It was the custom there that twelve temple godars should both direct the sacrifices, and also judge the people. They were called Diars, or Drotners, and all the people served and obeyed them. Odin was a great and very far-travelled warrior, who conquered many kingdoms, and so successful was he that in every battle the victory was on his side. It was the belief of his people that victory belonged to him in every battle. It was his custom when he sent his men into battle, or on any expedition, that he first laid his hand upon their heads, and called down a blessing upon them; and then they believed their undertaking would be successful. His people also were accustomed, whenever they fell into danger by land or sea, to call upon his name; and they thought that always they got comfort and aid by it, for where he was they thought help was near. Often he went away so long that he passed many seasons on his journeys.

IV.

From the New Testament.

MARK i. 1—8,

1. Ðetta er upphaf evangelii um Jesum Christum Guds son, svo sem skrifad er hiá spámönnunum.

2. Siá! Eg sende minn engel fyrer þer, sá sem tilreide þinn veg fyrer þer.

3. Þar er ein predikara rödd í eydemorku: "greided þer veg drottins og gered hans stigu retta."

4. Johannes var í eydemörku, skírde og predikade um idranar skírn, til syndanna fyrergefningar.

5. Og þar geck út til hans allt Juda land, og þeir af Jerusalem, og þeir letu aller skíra sig af hon um í Jordan, játande sínar synder.

6. Enn Johannes var klæddur med ulfballds hárum, og eitt ólarbelte um hans lendar, og hann át eingesprettur og skógarhunang.

7. Og predikade og sagde: Þar kemur einn efter mig, sem er sterkare enn eg, hvers eg em eigi verdugnr frammfallande upp at leysa þveinge hans skófata.

8. Eg skíre yður med vatne, enn hann mun skíra yður med heil ögum anda.

§ 163. The comparison between the chief inflections characteristic of the most important of the preceding languages is as follows.

Declension of Substantives ending in a Vowel.

ANGLO-SAXON.		ICELANDIC.
<i>Neuter.</i>		<i>Neuter.</i>
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Eáge (eye).	Auga (eye).
<i>Acc.</i>	Eáge.	Auga.
<i>Dat.</i>	Eágan.	Auga.
<i>Gen.</i>	Eágan.	Auga.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Eágan	Augu.
<i>Acc.</i>	Eágan	Augu.
<i>Dat.</i>	Eágan	Augum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Eágan	Augna.
<i>Masculine.</i>		<i>Masculine.</i>
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Nama (a name).	Bogi (a bow).
<i>Acc.</i>	Naman	Boga.
<i>Dat.</i>	Naman	Boga.
<i>Gen.</i>	Naman	Boga.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Naman	Bogar.
<i>Acc.</i>	Naman	Boga.
<i>Dat.</i>	Namum	Bogum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Namena	Boga.

SAXON.		ICELANDIC.	
<i>Feminine.</i>		<i>Feminine.</i>	
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Tunge (<i>a tongue</i>).		Tunga (<i>a tongue</i>).
<i>Acc.</i>	Tungan		Túngu.
<i>Dat.</i>	Tungan		Túngu.
<i>Gen.</i>	Tungan		Túngu.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Tungan		Túngur.
<i>Acc.</i>	Tungan		Túngur.
<i>Dat.</i>	Tungum		Túngum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Tungena		Túngna.

Declension of Substantives ending with a Consonant.

SAXON.		ICELANDIC.	
<i>Neuter.</i>		<i>Neuter.</i>	
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Leáf (<i>a leaf</i>).		Skip (<i>a ship</i>).
<i>Acc.</i>	Leáf		Skip.
<i>Dat.</i>	Leáfe		Skipi.
<i>Gen.</i>	Leáfes		Skips.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Leáf		Skip.
<i>Acc.</i>	Leáf		Skip.
<i>Dat.</i>	Leáfum		Skipum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Leáfa		Skipa.
<i>Masculine.</i>		<i>Masculine.</i>	
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Smið (<i>a smith</i>).		Konungr (<i>a king</i>).
<i>Acc.</i>	Smið		Konung.
<i>Dat.</i>	Smiðe		Konungi.
<i>Gen.</i>	Smiðes		Konungs.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Smiðas		Konungar.
<i>Acc.</i>	Smiðas		Konunga.
<i>Dat.</i>	Smiðum		Konungum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Smiða		Konunga.
<i>Feminine.</i>		<i>Feminine.</i>	
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Spr'æc (<i>a speech</i>).		Brúðr (<i>a bride</i>).
<i>Acc.</i>	Spr'æce		Brúi.
<i>Dat.</i>	Spr'æce		Brúði.
<i>Gen.</i>	Spr'æce		Bruðar.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Spr'æca		Brúðir.
<i>Acc.</i>	Spr'æca		Brúðir.
<i>Dat.</i>	Spr'æcum		Brúðum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Spr'æca		Brúða.

The most characteristic difference between the Saxon and Icelandic lies in the peculiar position of the definite article in the latter language. In Saxon the article corresponding with the modern word *the*, is *þæt*, *se*, *seó*, for the neuter, masculine, and feminine genders respectively; and these words, regularly declined, are *prefixed* to the words with which they agree, just as is the case with the English and with the majority of languages. In Icelandic, however, the article, instead of preceding, *follows*, its noun, *with which it coalesces*, having previously suffered a change in form. The Icelandic article corresponding to *þæt*, *se*, *seó*, is *hitt* (N.), *hinn* (M.), *hin* (F.): from this the *h* is ejected, so that, instead of the regular inflection (*a*), we have the forms (*b*).

<i>a.</i>			
	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Hitt	Hinn	Hin.
<i>Acc.</i>	Hitt	Hinn	Hina.
<i>Dat.</i>	Hinu	Hinum	Hinni.
<i>Gen.</i>	Hins	Hins	Hinnar.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Hin	Hinir	Hinar.
<i>Acc.</i>	Hin	Hina	Hinar.
<i>Dat.</i>	Hinum	Hinum	Hinum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Hinna	Hinna	Hinna.
<i>b.</i>			
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	—it	—inn	—in.
<i>Acc.</i>	—it	—inn	—ina (-na).
<i>Dat.</i>	—nu	—num	—inni (-nni).
<i>Gen.</i>	—ins	—ins	—innar (-nnar).
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	—in	—nir	—nar.
<i>Acc.</i>	—in	—na	—nar.
<i>Dat.</i>	—num	—num	—num.
<i>Gen.</i>	—nna	—nna	—nna.

whence, as an affix, in composition,

	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Augat	Boginn	Túngan.
<i>Acc.</i>	Augat	Boginn	Túnguna.
<i>Dat.</i>	Auganu	Bogantum	Túngunni.
<i>Gen.</i>	Augans	Bogans	Tungunnar

	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Augun	Bogarnir	Túngurnar.
<i>Acc.</i>	Augun	Bogana	Túngurnar.
<i>Dat.</i>	Augunum	Bogunum	Túngunum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Augnanna	Boganna	Túngnanna.

In the Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish this peculiarity in the position of the definite article is preserved. Its origin, however, is concealed; and an accidental identity with the indefinite article has led to false notions respecting its nature. In the languages in point the *i* is changed into *e*, so that what in Icelandic is *it* and *in*, is in Danish *et* and *en*. *En*, however, as a separate word, is the numeral *one*, and also the indefinite article *a*; whilst in the neuter gender it is *et*—*en Sol, a sun*; *et Bord, a table*: *Solen, the sun*; *Bordet, the table*. From modern forms like those just quoted, it has been imagined that the definite is merely the indefinite article transposed. This it is not. To apply an expression of Mr. Cobbett's, *en = a*, and *-en = the*, are *the same combination of letters, but not the same word*.

DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES.

SAXON.				ICELANDIC.			
<i>Definite.*</i>				<i>Definite.*</i>			
<i>Singular.</i>				<i>Singular.</i>			
	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>		<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	Góde	Góda	Góde.	<i>Nom.</i>	Haga	Hagi	Haga.
<i>Acc.</i>	Góde	Gódan	Gódan.	<i>Acc.</i>	Haga	Haga	Högu.
<i>Abl.</i>	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan.	<i>Abl.</i>	Haga	Haga	Högu.
<i>Dat.</i>	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan.	<i>Dat.</i>	Haga	Haga	Högu.
<i>Gen.</i>	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan.	<i>Gen.</i>	Haga	Haga	Högu.
<i>Plural.</i>				<i>Högu is the Plural form for</i>			
<i>Nom.</i>	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan.	<i>all the Cases and all the Gen-</i>			
<i>Acc.</i>	Gódan	Gódan	Gódan.	<i>ders.</i>			
<i>Abl.</i>	Gódum	Gódum	Gódum.				
<i>Dat.</i>	Gódum	Gódum	Gódum.				
<i>Gen.</i>	Gódena	Gódena	Gódena.				

* The meaning of these terms is explained in p. 268. This order of the cases and genders is from Rask. It is certainly more natural than the usual one.

SAXON.				ICELANDIC.			
<i>Indefinite.</i>				<i>Indefinite.</i>			
<i>Singular.</i>				<i>Singular.</i>			
	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>		<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	Gód	Gód	Gód.	<i>Nom.</i>	Hagt	Hagr	Hög.
<i>Acc.</i>	Gód	Gódne	Góde.	<i>Acc.</i>	Hagt	Hagan	Hög.
<i>Abl.</i>	Góde	Góde	Gódre.	<i>Abl.</i>	Högu	Högum	Hagri.
<i>Dat.</i>	Gódum	Gódum	Gódre.	<i>Dat.</i>	Högu	Högum	Hagri.
<i>Gen.</i>	Gódes	Gódes	Gódre.	<i>Gen.</i>	Hags	Hags	Hagrar.
<i>Plural.</i>				<i>Plural.</i>			
<i>Nom.</i>	Góde	Góde	Góde.	<i>Nom.</i>	Hög	Hagir	Hagar.
<i>Acc.</i>	Góde	Góde	Góde.	<i>Acc.</i>	Hög	Haga	Hagar.
<i>Abl.</i>	Gódum	Gódum	Gódum.	<i>Abl.</i>	Högum	Högum	Högum.
<i>Dat.</i>	Gódum	Gódum	Gódum.	<i>Dat.</i>	Högum	Högum	Högum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Gódra	Gódra	Gódra.	<i>Gen.</i>	Hagra	Hagra	Hagra.

Observe in the Icelandic forms the absence of the termination *-an*. Observe also the neuter termination, *-t*, as *hagr*, *hagt*. Throughout the modern forms of the Icelandic (*viz.* the Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian languages) this termination is still preserved: *e.g.* *en god Hest*, a good horse; *et godt Hjært*, a good heart; *en skön Pige*, a beautiful damsel; *et skarpt Sværd*, a sharp sword.

Amongst the pronouns the following differences present themselves. The Saxon forms are, for the pronoun of the second person, *þu* (thou), *git* (ye two), *ge* (ye); whilst in Icelandic they are *þu*, *þið*, *þer*, respectively. Again, in Saxon there is no reflective pronoun corresponding with the Latin *se*. In Icelandic we have *sik*, *sér*, *sin*, corresponding to the Latin *se*, *sibi*, *suus*. Besides this, the word *sin* is declined, so that like the Latin *suus* it becomes adjectival.

<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Sitt	Sinn	Sín.
<i>Acc.</i>	Sitt	Sinn	Sína.
<i>Dat.</i>	Sinn	Sinum	Sinni.
<i>Gen.</i>	Sins	Síns	Sinnar.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Sín	Sínir	Sínar.
<i>Acc.</i>	Sín	Sína	Sínar.
<i>Dat.</i>	Sinum	Sinum	Sinum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Sinna	Sinna	Sinna.

In Saxon there is of course no such an adjectival form

There the Possessives of the Third Person correspond not with the Latin *suus, sua, suum*; but with the Latin *ejus* and *eorum*. The English words *his* and *her* are *genitive* cases, not *adjectives*.

Further remarks upon the presence of the Reflective Pronoun *sik* in Icelandic, and its absence in Saxon, will appear in the sequel.

THE NUMERALS.

SAXON.	ICELANDIC.
1. 'An	Eitt, einn, ein.
2. Twá	Tvö, tveir.
3. þreó	þrju, þrir.
4. Feower	Fjögur, fjórir.
5. Fíf	Fimm.
6. Six	Sex.
7. Seofon	Sjö.
8. Eahta	'Atta.
9. Nigon	Niu.
10. Tyn	Tiu.

Of the Icelandic verbs the infinitives end in *-a*; as *kalla*, to call; *elska*, to love; whereas the Saxon termination is *-an*; as *lufian*, to love; *wyrcean*, to work.

The persons are as follows:—

	SAXON.	ICELANDIC.
<i>Pres. Sing.</i>	1. Bærne	Brenni.
	2. Bærnst	Brennir.
	3. Bærnð	Brennir.
<i>Plur.</i>	1. Bærnað	Brennum.
	2. Bærnað	Brennið.
	3. Bærnað	Brenna.

The characteristic, however, of the Icelandic (indeed, of all the Scandinavian languages) is the possession of a *passive* form, or a *passive* voice, ending in *-st*:—*Ek þu, hann brennist* = *I, thou, he is burnt*; *Ver brennumst* = *We are burnt*; *þér brennizt* = *ye are burnt*; *þeir brennast* = *they are burnt*. Past tense, *Ek, þu, hann brendist*; *ver brendumst*, *þér brenduzt*, *þeir brendust*. Imperat.: *brenstu* = *be thou burnt*. Infinit.: *brennast* = *to be burnt*.

In the modern Danish and Swedish, the passive is still pre-

served, but without the final *t*. In the *older* stages of Icelandic, on the other hand, the termination was not *-st* but *-sc*; which *-sc* grew out of the reflective pronoun *sik*. With these phenomena the Scandinavian languages give us the evolution and development of a passive voice; wherein we have the following series of changes:—1st, the reflective pronoun coalesces with the verb, whilst the sense changes from that of a reflective to that of a middle verb; 2nd, the *c* changes to *t*, whilst the middle sense passes into a passive one; 3rd, *t* is dropped from the end of the word, and the expression that was once reflective then becomes strictly passive.

Now the Saxons have no passive voice at all. That they should have one *originating* like that of the Scandinavians was impossible. Having no reflective pronoun, they had nothing to evolve it from.

The Auxiliary Verb.

SAXON.

ICELANDIC.

Indicative. Present.

<i>Sing.</i>	1. Eom (<i>I am</i>)	Em.
	2. Eart	Ert.
	3. Is	Er.
<i>Plur.</i>	1. Synd (Syndon)	Erum.
	2. Synd (Syndon)	Eruð.
	3. Synd (Syndon)	Eru.

Indicative. Past.

<i>Sing.</i>	1. Wæ's	Var.
	2. Wæ're	Vart.
	3. Wæ's	Var.
<i>Plur.</i>	1. Wæ'ron	Vorum.
	2. Wæ'ron	Voru.
	3. Wæ'ron	Voru.

Subjunctive. Present.

<i>Sing.</i>	1. Sy'	Sé.
	2. Sy'	Sér.
	3. Sy'	Sé.
<i>Plur.</i>	1. Sy'n	Séum.
	2. Sy'n	Seuð.
	3. Sy'n	Séu.

SAXON.		ICELANDIC.
<i>Subjunctive. Past.</i>		
<i>Sing.</i>	1. Wæ're	Væri.
	2. Wæ're	Værir.
	3. Wæ're	Væri.
<i>Plur.</i>	1. Wæ'ron	Værum.
	2. Wæ'ron	Væru.
	3. Wæ'ron	Væruð.
<i>Infinitive.</i>		
Wesan		Vera
<i>Participle.</i>		
Wesende		Verandi.

Recapitulating, we find that the characteristic differences of the greatest importance between the Icelandic and Saxon are three in number:—

- 1st. The peculiar nature of the definite article.
- 2nd. The neuter form of the adjectives in *-t*.
- 3rd. The existence of a passive voice in *-sc*, *-st*, or *-s*.

In the previous comparison the substantives were divided as follows:—1st, into those ending with a vowel; 2ndly, into those ending with a consonant. In respect to the substantives ending with a vowel (*eáge, nama, tunge*), it may have been observed that their cases were in Anglo-Saxon almost exclusively formed in *-n*, as *eágan, tungan*, &c.; whilst words like *skip* and *smið* had, throughout their whole declension, no case formed in *-n*; no case, indeed, wherein the sound of *-n* entered. This enables us (at least with the Anglo-Saxon) to make a general assertion concerning the substantives ending in a *vowel* in contrast to those ending in a *consonant*, viz. that they take an inflection in *-n*.

In Icelandic this inflection in *-n* is concealed by the fact of *-an* having been changed into *-a*. However, as this *-a* represents *-an*, and as fragments or rudiments of *-n* are found in the genitive plurals of the neuter and feminine genders (*augna, tungna*), we may make the same general assertion in Icelandic that we make in Anglo-Saxon, viz. that substantives ending in a vowel take an inflection in *-n*.

Along with the indication of this difference may be introduced the terms *weak* and *strong*, as applied to the declension of nouns.

Weak nouns end in a vowel; or, if in a consonant, in a consonant that has become final from the loss of the vowel that originally followed it. They also form a certain proportion of their oblique cases in *-n*, or an equivalent to *-n*—Nom. *augô*, gen. *aug-in-s*.

Strong nouns end in a consonant; or, if in a vowel, in one of the vowels allied to the semivowels *y* or *w*, and through them to the consonants. They also form their oblique cases by the addition of a simple inflection, without the insertion of *n*.

Furthermore, be it observed that *nouns* in general are *weak* and *strong*, in other words, that adjectives are *weak* or *strong*, as well as substantives. Between substantives and adjectives, however, there is this difference:—

1. A substantive is *either* weak or strong, *i. e.* it has one of the two inflections, but not both. *Augô*, = *an eye*, is weak under all circumstances; *waurd*, = *a word*, is strong under all circumstances.

2. An adjective is *both* weak and strong. The Anglo-Saxon for *good* is sometimes *god* (strong), sometimes *gode* (weak). Which of the two forms is used depends not on the word itself, but on the state of its construction.

In this respect the following two rules are important:—

1. The definite sense is generally expressed by the weak form, as *se blinde man* = *the blind man*.

2. The indefinite sense is generally expressed by the strong form, as *sum blind man* = *a blind man*.

Hence, as far as adjectives are concerned, the words *definite* and *indefinite* coincide with the words *weak* and *strong* respectively, except that the former are terms based on the syntax, the latter terms based on the etymology of the word to which they apply.

Declension of Weak Substantives in Mæso-Gothic.

Neuter.

Singular.

Plural.

Nom. 'Augô (*an eye*)

'Augôna.

Acc. 'Augô

'Augôna.

Dat. 'Augin

'Augam.

Gen. 'Augins

'Augônê.

<i>Neuter.</i>		
<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
	<i>Masculine.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i> Manna (<i>a man</i>)		Mannaus.
<i>Acc.</i> Mannan		Mannans.
<i>Dat.</i> Mannin		Mannam.
<i>Gen.</i> Mannins		Mannanê.
	<i>Feminine.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i> Tuggô (<i>a tongue</i>)		Tuggôns.
<i>Acc.</i> Tuggôn		Tuggôns.
<i>Dat.</i> Tuggôn		Tuggôm.
<i>Gen.</i> Tuggôns		Tuggônô.

Declension of Strong Substantives in Mæso-Gothic.

<i>Neuter.</i>		
<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i> Vaúrd (<i>a word</i>)		Vaúrda.
<i>Acc.</i> Vaúrd		Vaúrda.
<i>Dat.</i> Vaúrda		Vaúrdam.
<i>Gen.</i> Vaúrdis		Vaúrdê.
	<i>Masculine.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i> Fisks (<i>a fish</i>)		Fiskôs.
<i>Acc.</i> Fisk		Fiskans.
<i>Dat.</i> Fiska		Fiskam.
<i>Gen.</i> Fiskis		Fiskê.
	<i>Feminine.</i>	
<i>Nom.</i> Brûps (<i>a bride</i>)		Brûpeis.
<i>Acc.</i> Brûp		Brûpins.
<i>Dat.</i> Brûpai		Brûpim.
<i>Gen.</i> Brûpais		Brûpê.

These may be compared with the Saxon declensions; viz. *aúgô* with *eáge*, *manna* with *nama*, *tuggô* with *tunge*, *vaúrd* with *leáf*, *fisks* with *smið*, and *brûps* with *spræc*.

Declension of Weak (or Definite) Adjectives in Mæso-Gothic.

<i>Singular.</i>		
<i>Neuter.</i>	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
<i>Nom.</i> Blindô	Blinda	Blindô.
<i>Acc.</i> Blindô	Blindan	Blindôn.
<i>Dat.</i> Blindin	Blindin	Blindôn.
<i>Gen.</i> Blindins	Blindins	Blindôns.

Plural.

	<i>Neuter.</i>	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	Blindôna	Blindans	Blindôns.
<i>Acc.</i>	Blindôna	Blindans	Blindôns.
<i>Dat.</i>	Blindam	Blindam	Blindôm.
<i>Gen.</i>	Blindônê	Blindanê	Blindônô.

*Declension of Strong Adjectives in Mæso-Gothic.**Singular.*

	<i>Neuter.</i>	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	Blind-ata	Blind-s	Blind-a.
<i>Acc.</i>	Blind-ata	Blind-ana	Blind-a.
<i>Dat.</i>	Blind-amma	Blind-amma	Blind-ái.
<i>Gen.</i>	Blind-is	Blind-is	Blind-áizôs.

Plural.

<i>Nom.</i>	Blind-a	Blind-ái	Blind-ôs.
<i>Acc.</i>	Blind-a	Blind-ans	Blind-ôs.
<i>Dat.</i>	Blind-áim	Blind-áim	Blind-áim.
<i>Gen.</i>	Blind-áizê	Blind-áizê	Blind-áiozô.

Verbs.

<i>Indicative.</i>			<i>Subjunctive.</i>		
<i>Present.</i>			<i>Present.</i>		
	M.G.	A.S.		M.G.	A.S.
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	Sôk-ja	Luf-ie.	<i>Sing.</i> 1.	Sôk-jáu	} Luf-ige.
2.	Sôk-eis	Luf-ast.	2.	Sôk-jáis	
3.	Sôk-eiþ	Luf-að.	3.	Sok-jái	
<i>Plur.</i> 1.	Sôk-jam	Luf-i-að.	<i>Plur.</i> 1.	Sôk-jáima	}
2.	Sôk-eiþ	Luf-i-að.	2.	Sôk-jáip	
3.	Sôk-jand	Luf-i-að.	3.	Sôk-jáina	
<i>Preterite.</i>			<i>Preterite.</i>		
<i>Sing.</i> 1.	Sôk-ida	Luf-ode.	<i>Sing.</i> 1.	Sôk-idêdjáv	} Luf-ode.
2.	Sôk-ides	Luf-odest.	2.	Sôk-idêdeis	
3.	Sôk-idá	Luf-ode.	3.	Sôk-idêdi	
<i>Plur.</i> 1.	Sôk-dêdum	Luf-odon.	<i>Plur.</i> 1.	Sôk-idêdeima	} Luf-odon.
2.	Sôk-dêduþ	Luf-odon.	2.	Sôk-idêdeiþ	
3.	Sôk-dêdum	Luf-odon.	3.	Sôk-idêdeina	

The conjugation of the Verb Substantive in Mæso-Gothic is as follows.

<i>Indicative.</i>		<i>Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>Present.</i>		<i>Present.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1. Im	Sijum.	1. Sij-áu	Sij-áima.
2. Is	Si-juþ.	2. Sij-áis	Sij-áiþ.
3. Ist	Si-nd.	3. Sij-ái	Sij-áina.
<i>Preterite.</i>		<i>Preterite.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1. Vas	Vês-um.	1. Vês-jáu	Vês-eima.
2. Vas-t	Vês-uþ.	2. Vês-eis	Vês-eiþ.
3. Vas	Vês-un.	3. Vês-ei	Vês-eina.

Inf. Visan.

Sijan.

Part. Visands

CHAPTER XXV.

ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE GERMAN GROUP OF
LANGUAGES.

§. 164. UP to the present chapter the statements of the author respecting the mutual relations which the different languages of the German group bear to each other have been any but tabular, systematic, or classificational. No general view of the family has been given—no such view as the naturalist gives of an order, a family, or a genus with sub-genera. No division into primary and secondary sections and sub-sections has been attempted; nor yet has there been much said about *stems* and *stocks* falling into *branches*, whilst the *branches* divided into *ramifications* and similar sub-divisions, with names more or less metaphorical. Indeed, the language of the genealogist—the talk about *roots* and *pedigrees*—has been carefully eschewed. Nevertheless, it has not been found convenient to discard it altogether; inasmuch as more than one term has been found necessary which has suggested the existence of a greater amount of systematic classification than has been exhibited. Such a term is the word *Scandinavian* (or *Norse*); a word which is evidently the generic name for a natural group of tongues, more or less akin to those of Germany Proper, but, at the same time, more or less opposed to them. Such a word as this indicates the likelihood of such a system as the following:—

The Gothic class (or stock) falls into two orders (or branches)—the Proper German, and the Scandinavian or Norse. Again,—

The German Proper contains the High-German, Platt-Deutsch, Dutch, &c.; whilst the Norse contains the Icelandic, Swedish, and Danish.

Each of these fall into dialects and sub-dialects.

No doubt, this is, to a great degree, the case. Yet it is also equally undoubted that the view which would illustrate it has been kept in the back-ground. Instead of this, our notices have been to the effect that the Frisian was likest the Dutch, the Dutch likest certain Platt-Deutsch dialects, certain Platt-Deutsch dialects likest certain High-German ones—and so on throughout.

The reason of this lies in the importance of rightly ascertaining the extent to which a systematic classification of languages, dialects, and sub-dialects into primary, secondary, and other subordinate divisions is an actual philological phenomenon. *Can* languages be thus conveniently arranged? *Can* tabulated exhibitions of them be constructed? If they can *not* it is certainly a serious error to think that they *can*. It is a serious error, because it engenders the idea that definitions of an unattained, or perhaps unattainable, degree of clearness and precision are practicable. It is a serious error, because it substitutes lines of demarcation and distinction for lines of connection and transition; so subverting the true and natural principles of philological arrangement, and replacing them by false and artificial ones.

Hence, the chief method by which the mutual affinities of the German tongues have been shown, has been the exhibition of the points wherein one language agreed with another, and that other with some third, that third with a fourth—and so on.

This is the plan of the present edition; but it was not the plan of the earlier ones. Therein, the exhibition of the mutual relationships of the German, or Gothic, forms of speech took the following shape:—

Of the great *Gothic* (*German*) stock of languages, there were—

Two branches; the *German Proper* (or *Teutonic*), and the *Scandinavian* (or *Norse*).

I. The *Teutonic* branch fell into

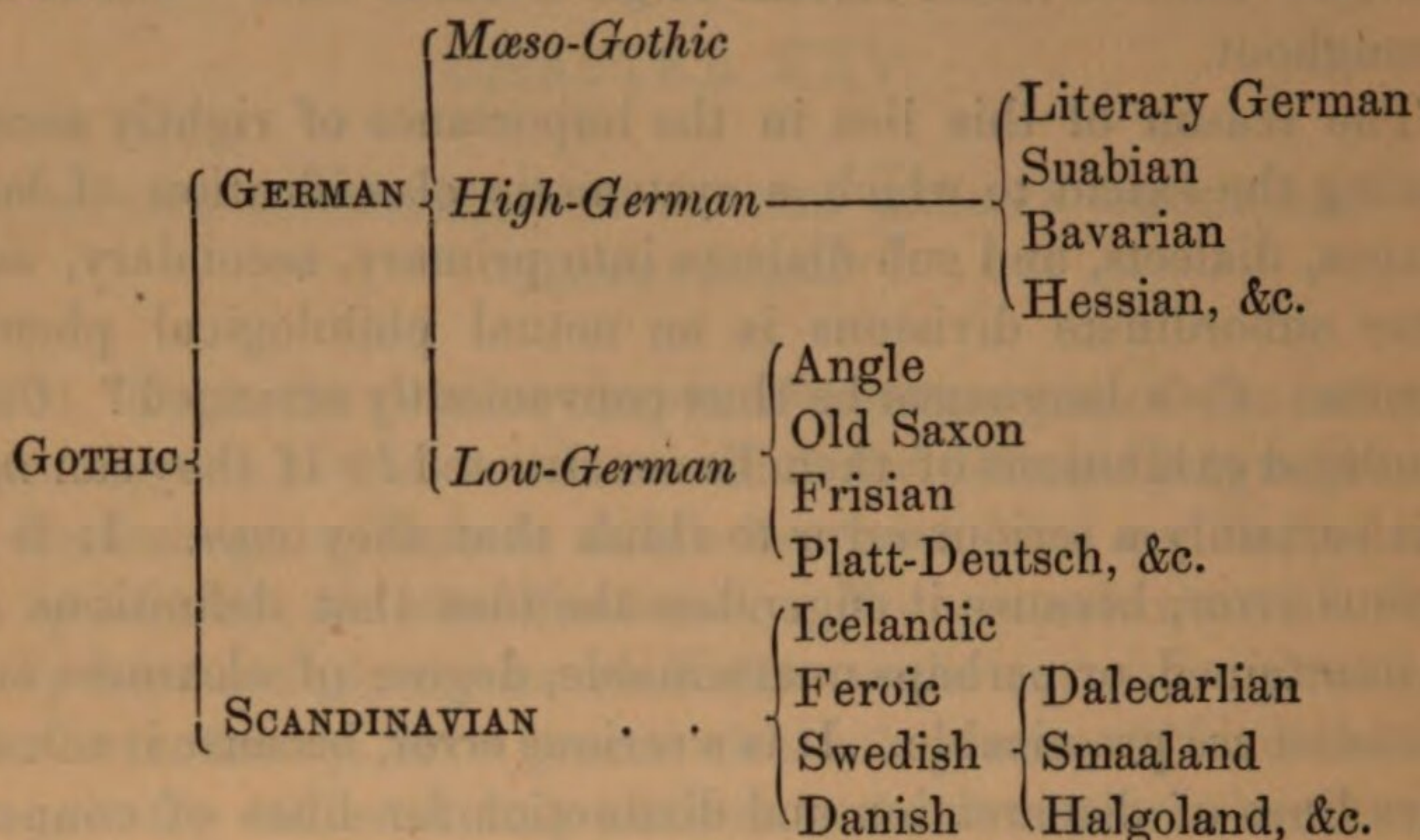
Three divisions, (1) the Mæso-Gothic, (2) the High-German, and (3) the Low-German.

The Low-German comprised (1 and 2) the Anglo-Saxon

and the English, (3) the Old-Saxon, (4 and 5) the Old-Frisian and Modern-Dutch, (6) the Platt-Deutsch dialects.

II. The Scandinavian branch comprehended the Icelandic, Feroic, Swedish, and Danish, with their dialects and sub-dialects in all their stages.

In a tabular form such a system as this might be expressed thus:—



This is a classification which actually exists ; being that which we find in the works of Grimm, Rask, and the chief philologues for the German family of languages. No one has adopted it more implicitly than the present writer—*up to the present time*. Yet it is exceptionable ; so exceptionable that, unless it be abandoned, it must be taken with great caution and considerable qualifications. Of these the naturalist, whether zoologist or botanist, best understands the nature. He anticipates it, seeing the difficulties it has a tendency to engender beforehand. It has a tendency to engender the notion that all the forms of speech comprehended in the same division are more like each other than they are to any one in any other. Yet such is not the case. The Platt-Deutsch runs in the High-German, the Frisian is as much Dutch as Angle. It is only the extreme forms of each section that are widely separated from each other, and definitely characterised.

The truth is that, whatever may be the case when our knowledge has come to be enlarged, at the present moment, we must classify according to *types* rather than *definitions* ; contrasting

and comparing the typical and central members of each group. With this proviso the tabular form is safe, without it dangerous.

§ 165. Akin to this question of classification, or rather part and parcel of it, is the still more difficult one of the *value of characteristics*. Some writers lay great stress upon the absence or presence of certain sounds, in other words upon the Phonêsis of Languages. Others, on the other hand, think but little of a few vowels and consonants more or less, and accordingly attend chiefly to something else. At times, this is the inflection or grammatical structure; at times it is the dictionary or glossarial part of the language. "Such a language," writes A, "has a passive voice, which some other (naming it) has not; hence, I separate them somewhat widely."

"But their sound systems are alike," writes B, "and, consequently, I unite them." A practical instance of this kind of criticism will show itself after we have looked at some of the more usual characteristics of the different German forms of speech;—some of those which lie most on the surface.

1. The use of *p* and *k* for *b* and *g* respectively is High-German rather than Low, and of the High-German dialects more particularly Bavarian.

COMMON HIGH-GERMAN.	BAVARIAN.	ENGLISH.
<i>Berg</i>	<i>Pirk</i>	Hill (<i>berg</i>).
<i>Baiern</i>	<i>Paiern</i>	Bavaria.
<i>Blind</i>	<i>Plint</i>	Blind.
<i>Gott</i>	<i>Kott</i>	God.
<i>Ge-birgg-e</i>	<i>Ke-pirk-i</i>	Range of hills, &c.

2. The use of *-t* or *-tt* for *-s* or *-ss* is Low-German, in opposition to High; as—

PLATT-DEUTSCH.	HIGH-GERMAN.	ENGLISH.
<i>Water</i>	<i>Wasser</i>	Water.
<i>Swêt</i>	<i>Schweiss</i>	Sweat.
<i>Het</i>	<i>Es</i>	It.

What applies to the Platt-Deutsch, generally, applies *à fortiori* to the Saxon, Frisian, and Norse.

3. The Frisian chiefly differs from the Old-Saxon and Anglo-

Saxon in the forms of the plural noun and in the termination of the infinitive mood.

The plurals which in Anglo-Saxon and Old-Saxon end in *-s*, in Frisian end in *-r*.

The infinitives, which in Anglo-Saxon and Old-Saxon end in *-an*, in Frisian end in *-a*.

ANGLO-SAXON.	FRISIAN.	ENGLISH.
Cyning- <i>as</i>	Kening- <i>ar</i>	King- <i>s</i> .
Bærn- <i>an</i>	Bærn- <i>a</i>	Burn.

4. In Norse the preference for the sound of *-r* to *-s*, and of *-a* to *-an* is carried further than even in Frisian.

5. But the great characteristics of the Norse tongues, as opposed to the Frisian, and, *à fortiori*, to all the others, are the so-called passive voice, and the so-called *post-positive* article.

a. The reflective pronoun *sik* = *se* = *self* coalesces with the verb, and so forms a *reflective* termination. In the later stages this reflective (or middle) becomes passive in power. *Kalla* = *call*, and *sig* = *self*. Hence come *kalla sig*, *kallasc*, *kallast*, *kallas*; so that in the modern Swedish *jag kallas* = *I am called* = *vocor*.

b. The definite article in Norse not only *follows* its substantive, but amalgamates with it; *e. g.* *bord* = *table*, *hit* = *the* or *that*; *bord-et* = *the table* (*board*).

What is the *value* of any one of these characteristics? He is a bold philologue who answers this question offhand.

The *value* of a characteristic is not only an obscure and difficult question in itself, but the *measure of value* is so unfixed as for practical purposes to be wholly arbitrary.

Question. "Why do you lay so much stress upon, or, changing the expression, put so *high* a value, on the presence of a *post-positive* article?"

Answer. "Because it implies some important fact in the history of the development of the tongues wherein it appears. It implies that the tongues wherein it occurs were separated from those wherein it does not occur at an early period. If so, the relationship must be distant."

"Not so," it may be answered, "the separation may be but

recent, in which case it only shows a considerable amount of activity in the processes by which language is changed."

"But this is itself important, so that, consequently, the sign is of value under either point of view."

No doubt it is. At the same time the measure of value is uncertain and fluctuating, inasmuch as all that has been shown in the preceding dialogue is, that under either of two views, a case can be made out for the importance of a certain characteristic. A sign that a language has changed quickly is of value and interest; and so is a sign of a language having separated itself from some mother-tongue common to it and certain other forms of speech at an early period.

Nevertheless, it is bad philology to deal with the two facts as equal and indifferent, and to argue at one time from the one, and at another, from the other.

§ 166. All these difficulties are increased when we bring under notice, and add to our other points of criticism, the important question *of time*; inasmuch as the same exceptions that lie against any overclose classification in the way of order and genus, stem and branch, division and subdivision, lie against any unduly strict lines of demarcation between the different *stages* of a language; indeed, in this field of study more than usual circumspection is required. It is an easy matter to take a specimen from the reign of (say) King John, and another from that of our present Queen, and compare them—easy, too, to arrive at certain results from such a comparison. There will be likeness and there will be difference; there will be the older forms and the newer ones. And the latter will be supposed to have followed, succeeded, or grown out of the former; as, in many cases, they will have done. But in many cases they will not. What if the two samples not only belong to two different periods, but to two different dialects also. In such a case the sequence, or succession, though nearly linear is not so altogether. Whether the proximity of the two lines may not be sufficiently close to make the difference immaterial is another question. For most purposes of investigation it is so—for most, but not for all.

A little consideration will show that the *à priori* view of the relationship that languages bear to each other favours this prin-

ciple of classification. We cannot but suppose that the streams of population by which the several portions of the earth's surface have been occupied were *continuous*. In this case a population spreads from a centre like circles on a still piece of water. Now, if so, *all changes must have been gradual, and all extreme forms must have passed into each other by means of a series of transitional ones.*

It is clear that such forms, when submitted to arrangement and classification, will not come out in any definite and well-marked groups, but that, on the contrary, they will run into each other, with equivocal points of contact, and indistinct lines of demarcation; so that discrimination will be difficult, if not impracticable. If practicable, however, it will be effected by having recourse to certain typical forms, around which such as approximate most closely can most accurately and conveniently be grouped. When this is done, the more distant outliers will be distributed over the debateable ground of an equivocal frontier.

But as man conquers man, and occupant displaces occupant on the earth's surface, forms and varieties, which once existed, become extinct. The more this extinction takes place, the greater is the obliteration of those transitional and intermediate forms which connect extreme types; and the greater this obliteration, the stronger the lines of demarcation between geographically contiguous families. Hence a variational modification of a group of individuals simulates a difference of species; forms which were once wide apart being brought into juxtaposition by means of the annihilation of the intervening transitions.

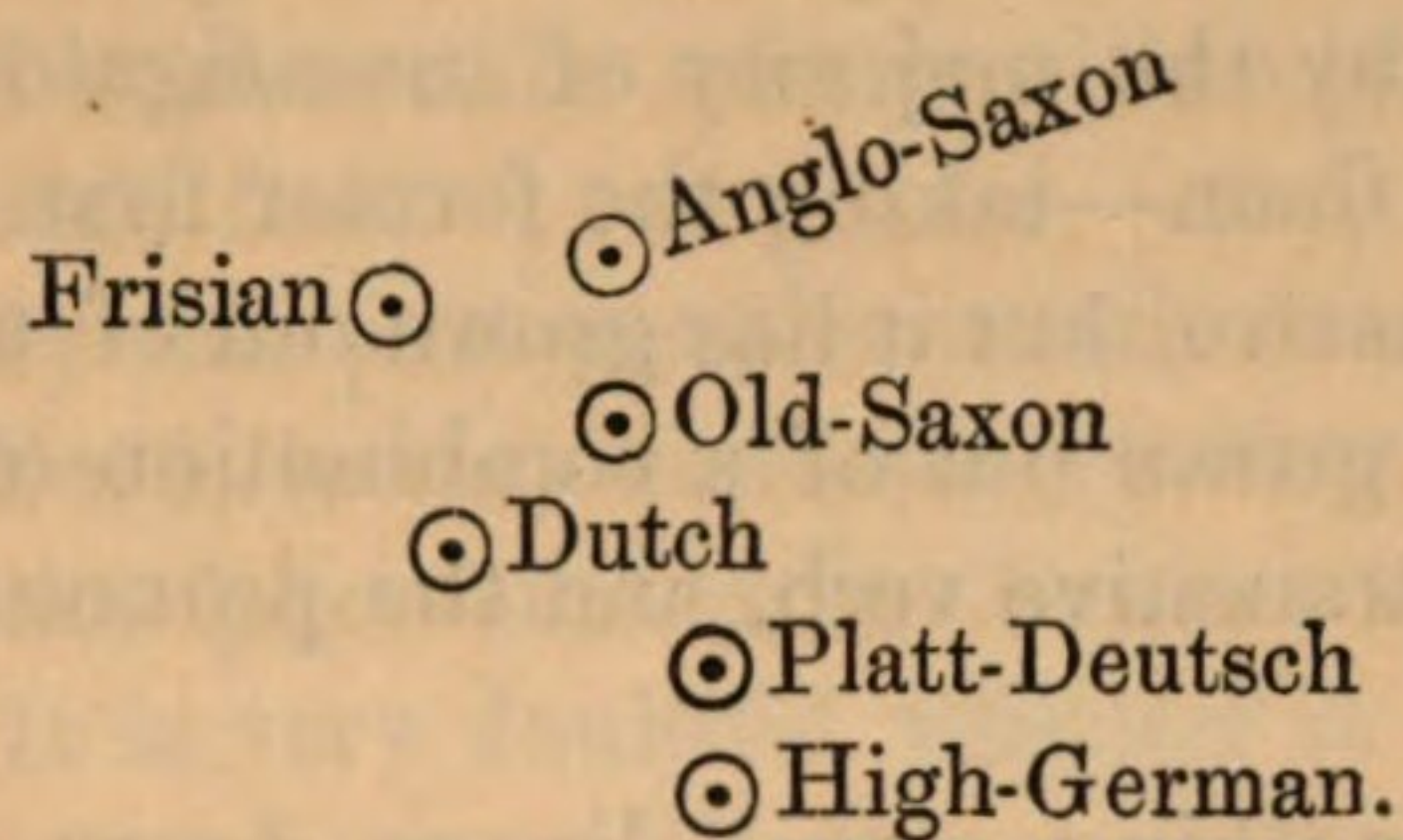
As a general rule—

The more definite the class the greater the displacement.

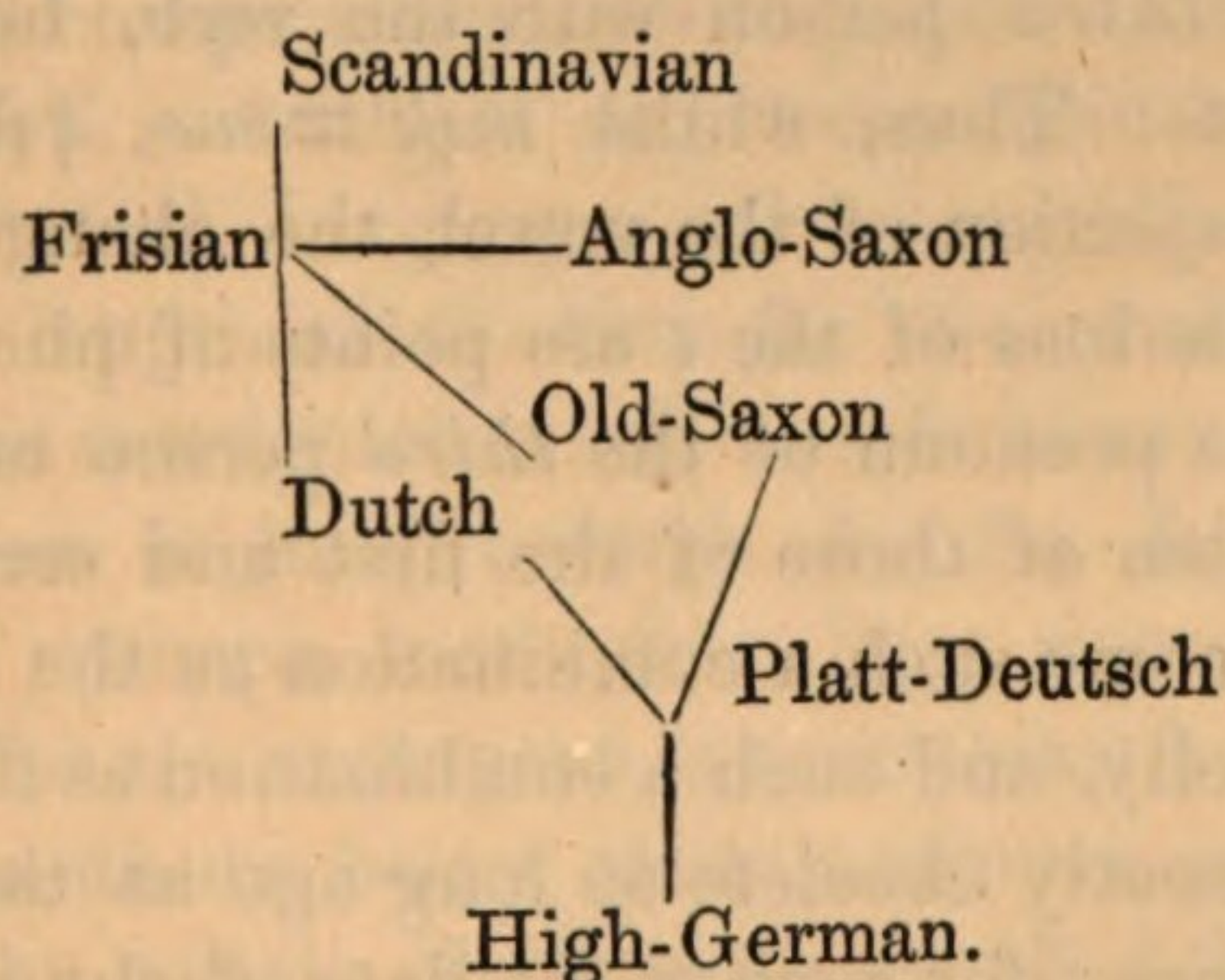
Also—the smaller the differences of dialect the later the diffusion of the language, such, at least, is the *primâ facie* view.

In Paris we hear French; in Madrid, Spanish; in Languedoc, Gascony, and Bearn an intermediate language. But what will be the case when the provincial forms of speech on each side of the Pyrenees have been replaced by the literary languages of the two great kingdoms of France and Spain? The geographical contact of two typical, if not extreme, forms of speech.

§ 167. For the German group of tongues (*minus* the Mæso-Gothic, of which the relations are obscure), the following series of circles and lines may serve as illustrations. The inner circle represents the form of speech to which the name by its side applies in its typical form, anterior to its diffusion. The larger circumscribes the fresh points over which it spreads, the original forms of speech there prevalent being departures from the strict type of the centre, and in proportion as they are so, approximations to something else, *e.g.* in the case of the Anglo-Saxon to the Frisian on one side, and the Old-Saxon on the other.



The lines give us the directions in which certain forms propagated themselves.



It may not be unnecessary to add that, whatever may be the exceptions taken to the ordinary classification into divisions and sub-divisions (the exceptions to which are provisional rather than absolutely valid), the points of contact between the different members of the Gothic family of languages are those that the generality of philologues admit. They admit, for instance, that the Platt-Deutsch dialects touch the High-German on one side and the Old-Saxon and Dutch on the other; that

the Frisian is closely akin to the Saxon, and, above all, that it is the most Scandinavian of all the German forms of speech.

The present writer, too, admits that the division between the two primary branches of the family—the Scandinavian and the German Proper, is, if not absolutely natural, a near approach to nature; inasmuch as it is, probably, not very wrong to say that all the languages in the former division are more like each other than any one of them is to any form of speech from Germany Proper. Nevertheless, he hesitates—and that, because, whatever measure of value he take as to the importance of the two leading Scandinavian characteristics—the so-called Passive Voice, and the Post-positive article—he sees less in them than is seen by the majority of investigators.

Let us examine them—taking the former first.

It is called a Passive, but it has grown out of a *Middle* form, which *Middle* has grown out of a combination of two words—viz. the active, or transitive verb, and the pronoun of the third person.

In this there is nothing extraordinary, every process being capable of the clearest and most appropriate illustration.

a. The older forms of the Icelandic give us not only the conjunction of the *third* person with the verb, but that of the *first* person also. Thus, whilst *mik* = *me*, *pik* = *thee*, and *sik* = *se*. The ejection of the vowel, the change from *-sc*, to *-st*, and lastly, the loss of the *t* are points of phonêsis.

The use of the pronoun of the *third* person to the displacement and exclusion of those of the first and second is a point of logic. How come such a combination as the verb + *pik* to have become wholly, and such a combination as the verb + *mik* to have become nearly obsolete so long ago as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; for such is the date of the early Icelandic literature. Whatever may be the exact nature of the confusion of idea that thus extended the use of the *sik* in Icelandic at the expense of the other two pronouns, it gives us a phenomenon which reappears elsewhere in the Greek, the High-German, and the Lithuanian, *at least*.

It cannot, then, be said that a formation so naturally evolved as the so-called passive voice of the Scandinavian languages is a philological characteristic of very high value, a philological

characteristic which effects between the languages wherein it is found, and the languages wherein it is not found any notably broad line of demarcation.

b. Now as to the peculiar position of the definite article, the article which may conveniently be denominated *post-positive*. Undoubtedly it is a very palpable characteristic, and one which tells a great deal upon the language, as any one may discover for himself who passes from the study of the English or German to that of the Danish, Swedish, or Icelandic. It makes the reader look to the end of the word where he has hitherto looked at the beginning, putting the sequence of his ideas, more or less, out of joint. It gives, too, compactness to the Scandinavian sentences, and enriches the metres with a large amount of the so-called trochaic feet.

Undoubtedly this *post-positive* article is a very palpable characteristic. Yet it is very doubtful whether it be the measure of any important phenomenon in the way of evolution or development. It is very doubtful whether it indicates any long separation in time between the languages wherein it occurs and the languages wherein it is wanting. It is also doubtful whether it indicates that any inordinate amount of change took place within a comparatively short period. It is a peculiarity easily evolved, *i. e.* without any extraordinary activity of the processes by which languages are changed, and without any extraordinary length of the time for the working of the usual changes, at an average rate. It is safe to say that a period of three centuries is long enough for its development—long enough, and, perhaps, more than long enough. How do we get at this? for the statement is something better than a mere guess—is something better than a mere *à priori* speculation. We get at it by certain phenomena supplied by the history of the Latin language and the languages derived from it. A hundred years before our era none of these latter had any existence beyond the Italian Peninsula. Five hundred years A.D., there were no less than four new growths, one in France, one in the Spanish Peninsula, one in Switzerland, and one in the Danubian Principalities. Now, of these, the first three formed their definite articles after the fashion of the Germans Proper—viz. the French, the Spaniards (and Portuguese), and the Swiss of the Grisons. And the original Romans did

the same. But the fourth formed their articles after the fashion of the Scandinavians, the Wallachian and Moldavian equivalents to *l'homme*, *il huomo*, and *el hombre*, being *homul* (= *hom-ul* = *homo ille*).

In this, then, we have a form which has been developed since the Conquest of Dacia—the reign of Trajan.

As the relationship of certain languages has been illustrated by circles and lines, the *stages* may be similarly exhibited by lines and points.

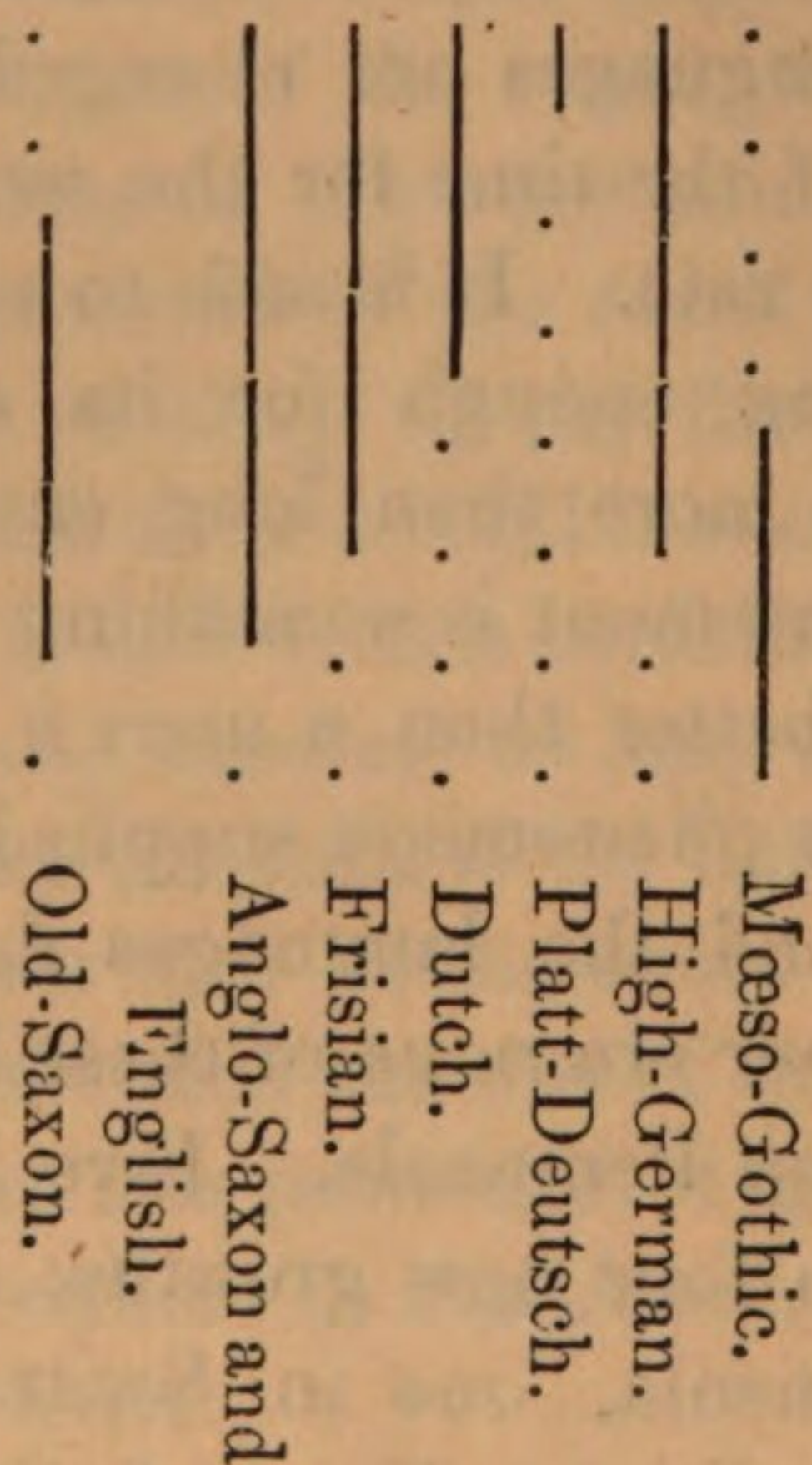
Let the points and lines that run vertically represent the period between the fourth and nineteenth centuries, the lines denoting the time to which the different samples of the different forms of speech are referrible.

Some begin soon, but soon cease, *e.g.* the Mæso-Gothic, which we find as early as the fourth century, but lose before we reach the sixth.

Some come down late but begin late, *e.g.* the Dutch and Platt-Deutsch.

The Anglo-Saxon extends through nearly the whole period ; but—

The Old Saxon neither ascends so high as the Mæso-Gothic, nor comes down so low as the others.



The more these lines are kept distinct the better the philology.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ON CERTAIN POINTS OF NOMENCLATURE.

§ 168. THE last chapter dealt with the question of classification; the present takes cognizance of certain points of nomenclature. The extent to which such remarks are necessary or superfluous may be collected from the remarks themselves. The words which will command our attention are the following—1. Gothic. 2. German. 3. Dutch. 4. Teutonic. 5. Anglo-Saxon. 6, 7. Icelandic and Old Norse.

Gothic (and *Mæso-Gothic*). — This is a name (perhaps, we may say *the* name) for the *genus* of which such forms of speech as the High-German, the Danish, the English, &c. are *species*. Such, at least, is the language we may use for the sake of illustration, even though in some points it may be exceptionable. *Gothic*, then, is a generic name.

With the prefix *Mæso-* it becomes specific, denoting the particular language of the Ulphiline Translation. *Mæso-* is from *Mæsia*, the name of the present countries of Servia and Bulgaria during the later periods of the Roman history. In the fifth century the *Lower* Mæsia (Bulgaria) was occupied by a German population. That this gave us the *Germans* of Mæsia, or *Mæso-Germans*, is evident. Whether, however, it gave us a population that is either correctly or conveniently called the *Goths* of Mæsia, or *Mæso-Goths*, is another question.

No grave exception lies against the use of the word *Mæisian* as applied to the language of Mæsia in the time of Ulphilas—no *grave* exception. The likelihood of its being supposed to denote the original vernacular tongue of Mæsia, as spoken

before the German invasion, is of no great importance in the way of an objection. Still, it is worth remembering.

What are the merits or demerits of the word *Gothic*? Its merits are that—

a. It is in current use; that—

b. It would not easily be replaced if thrown out of use. Say that we substituted, for it, the word *German*. The following inconvenience would arise. It would have one power when it applied to the *class*, and another when applied to particular languages of Germany as opposed to Scandinavia; that—

c. It is, to a certain extent, correct; *but only to a certain extent*. That the speakers of the language of the Ulphiline translations were called *Goths* at a period not later than the third century, and by a population not less important than the Roman, is generally and reasonably believed—a fact which gives us an argument in favour of the use of the word as an element in the term Mæso-Gothic, *i. e.* as a denomination for the particular Goths of Mæsia; that—

d. It has as good a claim as any other word equally specific in its origin to take an extension of power, and to enlarge itself into a more general term. Even though other members of the family to which the speakers of the language of the Ulphiline translation belonged were of equal historical importance with the Goths of Mæsia, the latter have in their favour the highly important fact of their language being the one which supplies us with the earliest specimens of the group to which it belongs. The Ulphiline translations are the earliest Gothic, or German, compositions extant; that—

e. The term *Gothic*, as applied to architecture, is a similar extension of the term.

The question as to the demerits of the word is complex; neither are the facts which it includes beyond doubt. They are doubted, however, by no one so much as by the present writer.

He holds that the term *Gothic*, as applied to the Germans of Mæsia, is as ethnologically incorrect as the term *Briton* applied to the Angles of *Britannia*—and that for the same reason. The invaders of neither country took their names

with them. On the contrary, they took them from the countries to which they went; having left their own under different ones. That no *Britons*, *under that name*, left Germany to conquer Britannia is universally admitted. That no Goths, *under that name*, left Germany to conquer Mœsia is not universally admitted. It only ought to be.

Just as a certain country which was called *Britannia* long before it became German, engendered the name *Britain*, which certain *Englishmen* occasionally adopt, did a certain country, of which the original occupants were the GET-Æ, attach to certain invaders the name GOTH-I, a name which they never bore at home, which they cannot be shown to have adopted themselves, and which (when all is said about it that can be said) was only a *Roman* name for the occupants of the country of the *Getæ*, who in the fourth and fifth centuries were of German origin.

If this be true, the objections against the word *Goth*, as applied to a German of Mœsia, are the objections against the word *Briton* as applied to an Angle of the Heptarchy. They lie against the name even in its more limited sense. *A fortiori*, they lie against it in its general sense. It would be wrong to call the East Anglians Britons; but it would be wronger still to call the Hessians or the Westphalians so.

But though incorrect, the word may be convenient, or, at least, allowable. This was the case with the word *Mæisian*; a word against which, though an objection lay, it was only a slight one—too slight to be of much practical importance, inasmuch as Mæisian philology and Mæisian history, so far as they are other than German, is *nil*—or nearly *nil*.

But not so British philology and British history.

Nor yet (according, at least, to the views of the present writer) Gothic philology and Gothic history.

For reasons exhibited elsewhere, I have long satisfied myself that the history of a population, at one and the same time, *other than German, and, yet, more truly Gothic than any Germans ever were*, is no obscure and unimportant history at all, but, on the contrary, a history of great interest and influence, a history of which the vast area bounded by the Gulf of Bothnia on the one hand, and the Indian Ocean on

the other, was the field. The fuller exposition of this view will appear in the third Preliminary Dissertation.

§ 169. *German*.—The chief points concerning this name, are—

1. That it was, originally, no national name at all, but one given to the nations on the East and North of Gallia by the Romans, the Romans having, probably, taken it from the Gauls.

2. That, with few exceptions, it has applied to the Germans proper of Germany. Except in philology and ethnology, we do not find either English or Scandinavian writers calling their countrymen *Germans*.

3. That the two German divisions most generally meant, when the word is used in a *limited* sense, are the Franks and Alemanni.

4. That the words *Frank* (or Francic) and Alemann (or *Allemannic*) have been occasionally used as synonymous with *German*.

5. That the origin of the word *Germani*, in the Latin language, is a point upon which there are two hypotheses.

a. That it is connected with the Latin word *Germani* = *genuine*.

b. That it grew out of some such German word as *Herman*, *Irmin*, *Wehrmann*, or the *Herm-* in *Hermunduri*, *Hermiones*, &c.

Neither of these views satisfies the present writer, who as little believes the word to have been of *native*, as he believes it to have been of *Roman* origin. It by no means follows that because the Romans called a certain population by a certain name, that that name was Roman. Strabo, from whom we get the notion, was not only a Greek, but a Greek who gives his view of the origin of the word more in the way of an etymological fancy than aught else; his statement and text being as follows:—"The parts immediately beyond the Rhine, beyond the Kelts, and turned towards the East, the *Germans* occupy, differing but little from the Keltic stock; chiefly in their excess of wildness, size, and yellowness. In size, habits, and manner of life they are as we have described the Kelts to be. Hence, the Romans seem to me to have given them their name on good grounds, wishing to designate them as the

genuine Gauls. For in the Roman speech *German* means *genuine* :”—

Εὐθὺς τοίνυν τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου μετὰ τοὺς Κελτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἑὼ κεκλιμένα Γερμανοὶ νέμονται, μικρὸν ἐξαλλάττοντες τοῦ Κελτικοῦ φύλου, τῷ τε πλεονασμῷ τῆς ἀγριότητος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους, καὶ τῆς ξανθότητος· τᾶλλα δὲ παραπλήσιοι καὶ μορφαῖς, καὶ ἡθεσι, καὶ βίοις ὄντες, οἷους εἰρήκαμεν τοὺς Κελτοὺς. Διὸ δίκαιά μοι δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτο αὐτοῖς θέσθαι τοῦνομα, ὥς ἂν γνησίους Γαλάτας φράζειν βουλόμενοι· γνήσιοι γὰρ οἱ Γερμανοὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτον.

The name *German* seems not to have been of Roman—
Nor yet of native origin.

Although, the Romans and the Gauls knew the populations beyond the Rhine by a certain *collective* term, no such common *collective* term seems to have been used by the Germans themselves. *They had none*. Each tribe had its own designation; or, at most, each kingdom or confederation. Only when the question as to what was common to the whole country, in opposition to what was *Roman* or *Gallic*, became a great practical fact, did a general ethnological term arise; and this was not *German* but *Dutch*.

This is a common phenomenon. In Hindostan we hear of the wilder mountaineers of Orissa and the Mahratta country under the names of Kól and Khond; and this is a collective term. But it is only this in the mouth of a Hindu, or Englishman. Amongst themselves the separate names of the different tribes is all that is current.

The evidence of Tacitus is strong upon the point. Speaking upon their origin he writes:—"Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est) Tuistonem deum terrâ editum, et filium Mannum, origionem gentis conditoresque. Manno tres filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingævones, medii Hermiones, ceteri Istævones vocentur. Quidam autem licentiâ vetustatis, plures deo ortos, pluresque gentis appellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandalios adfirmant: eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterùm Germaniæ vocabulum recens et nuper additum: quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint: ita nationis nomen, non gentis evaluisse paullatim, ut omnes primùm à vic-

tore ob metum, mox à seipsis invento nomine, Germani vocarentur."

Notwithstanding the words "à seipsis invento nomine," I believe the word German to have been of *Gallic* origin, so that, whilst the Germans had no *collective* name at all, the Romans called them as they were called by their neighbours—the neighbours through whom they (the Romans) more especially came in contact with them—their neighbours the Gauls.

The *first use* of the word is *early* in one sense, *late* in another. It is early if we look only to the date of the events with which it is connected. It is late if we look to the historian who records it. This distinction is necessary; though often overlooked. The earliest date assigned to a given event is one thing: the earliest historian who mentions such an event is another. A very early event may be recorded by a very late historian. Now the word *Semi-germanis* was applied to certain nations who came across Hannibal as he crossed the Alps; the historian who tells us being Livy.

Again—the nation of the Bastarnæ took a prominent part in the wars of Philip, the father of Perseus, against the Romans. Persuaded to become his allies, they cross the Danube; Cotto, one of their nobles, being sent forward as ambassador. They enter Thrace. The Thracians retire to Mount Donuca. Here the Bastarnæ divide. Thirty thousand reach Dardania. The rest cross the Danube homewards. This is what Livy tells us.

Strabo's evidence is more remarkable.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσοραΐᾳ Βαστάρναι μὲν τοῖς Τυριγέταις ὄμοροι καὶ Γερμανοῖς, σχεδόν τι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ γένους ὄντες, εἰς πλείω φύλα διηρημένοι. Καὶ γὰρ Ἀτμονοὶ λέγονται τινες, καὶ Σιδόνες, οἱ δὲ τὴν Πεύκην κατασχόντες, τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἰστρῷ νῆσον, Πευκινοί.

This has given the Bastarnæ great prominence in ethnology; since they have the credit of being the first Germans mentioned *by name* in history.

Thirdly—In the Fasti Capitolini for B. C. 222, occurs the following entry:—"M. CLAUDIUS M. F. M. N. MARCELLUS AN. DXXXI. COS. DE GALLEIS INSUBRIBUS ET G[ER]MANIS K. MART. ISQUE SPOLIA OPI(*ma*) RETTULIT DUCE HOSTIUM VIR (*domaro ad Cla*)STID (*ium interfecto*)."—Græv. Thes. Antt. Rom. ii. p. 227.

This is a notice of some pretension. Polybius, however, calls the allies of the Insubrian Gauls not Germans but *Gæsatae*.

More than this—the record itself is not above suspicion. The part of the stone which contains the letters ER, has been repaired, “and” (the extract is from Niebuhr) “whether ER was put in at random, or whether it was so on the original stone, I can neither assert nor deny. I have often seen the stone, but although a friend of mine wished me particularly to ascertain the truth, I was never able to convince myself whether the corner containing the syllable is part of the original stone or not. It is evident that the name cannot have been Cenomanis, since they were allied with the Romans, and the *g* is quite distinct. *Gonomani* does not occur among the Romans. If the author of these Fasti actually wrote *Germanis*, the nation is mentioned. The thing is not at all impossible.” Lecture LVIII. Dr. L. Schmitz’s edition.

The word *German*, then, is more probably of *Gallic* than of either native or Roman origin. It was introduced into English through the Latin, *German* and *Germany* being translations of *Germanus* and *Germania*. In France, Italy, and Spain, the equivalent terms are *Allemagne* and *Lamagna*, from the Latin *Alemanni*. Hence, the words in question, however convenient in Great Britain, are of *English* rather than *European* currency. More upon this point, however, will be considered, when we have noticed two other terms—*Dutch*, and *Teutonic*.

§ 170. *Dutch*.—*Germany* is not the name by which a German denotes his own country. He calls it *Deutschland*.

Neither is it the name by which a Frenchman designates *Germany*. He calls it *Allemagne*.

Whence the difference? The different languages take the different names for one and the same country from different sources.

The German term *Deutsch* is an *adjective*; the earlier form of the word being *diutisc*. Here the *-isc* is the same as the *-ish* in words like *self-ish*. *Diut*, on the other hand, means *people*, or *nation*. Hence, *diut-isc* is to *diut*, as *popularis* is to *populus*. This adjective was first applied to the *language*;

and served to distinguish the *popular, national, native, or vulgar* tongue of the populations to which it belonged from the Latin. It first appears in documents of the ninth century:—"Ut quilibet episcopus homilias apertè transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut *theotiscam*, quo tandem cuncti possint intelligere quæ dicantur."—Synodus Turonensis, A.D. 813. Quod in lingua *Thiudisca* scaftlegi, id est armorum depositio, vocatur.—*Capit. Wormatiense*. De collectis quas *Theudisca* lingua heriszuph appellat.—*Conventus Silvacensis*. Si, *barbara*, quam *Teutiscam* dicunt, lingua loqueretur.—*Vita Adalhardi, &c.*—D.G., i. p. 14, *Introduction*.

As to the different forms in which either the root or the adjective appears, the most important of them are as follows:—

1. In Mæso-Gothic, *þiudiskô* = ἑθνικῶς—Galatians ii. 14; a form which implies the substantive *þiuda* = ἔθνος.

2. In Old High-German, *diot* = *populus*, gives the adjective *diutisc* = *popul-aris*.

3. In Anglo-Saxon we have *þeód* and *þeódisc*.

Sometimes this adjective means *heathen*; in which case it applies to religion and is opposed to *Christian*.

Oftener it means *intelligible, or vernacular*, and applies to language; in which case it is opposed to *Latin*.

The particular Gothic dialect to which it was first applied was the German of the Middle Rhine. Here the forms are various:—*theodisca, thiudisca, theudisca, teudisca, teutisca*. When we reach parts less in contact with the Latin language of Rome, its use is rarer. Even the Germans of the Rhine frequently use the equivalent term *Alemannic*, and *Francic*; whilst the Saxons and Scandinavians never seem to have recognised the word at all.

Hence it is only the Germans of *Germany* that are *Theotisci*, or *Deut-sche*.

We of England, on the other hand, apply it only to the *Dut-ch* of Holland.

Up to a certain time in its earlier history the term *Dutch* (*Teutisca, Theodisca, &c.*) is, to a certain degree, one of disparagement; meaning *non-Roman, or vulgar*. It soon, however, changes its character; and in an Old High-German gloss—*uncadiuti (ungideuti)* = *un-dutch* is translated *barbarus*.

The standard has changed. Barbarism now means a departure from what is Dutch. Nevertheless, originally *Deutsche* = *vulgar*.

Like *high* as opposed to *low*, *rich* to *poor*, &c., the word *Deut-sch* was originally a *correlative* term—*i.e.* it denoted something which was *popular, vulgar, national, unlearned*—to something which was not. Hence, it could have had no existence until the relations between the learned and lettered language of Rome, and the comparatively unlearned and unlettered *vulgar tongue* of the Franks and Alemanni had developed some notable points of contrast. *Deut-sche*, as a name for *Germans*, in the sense in which it occurs in the *ninth* century, was an impossibility in the *first*, or *second*. This is not sufficiently considered. Many believe that the *Teut-*, in *Teutones*, is the *deut-*, in *deut-sch*. To be this *exactly* is impossible. Any German tribe that called itself *peuda*, *Diot* or *Deoð* in the first century must have given a different meaning to the word; and, so doing, have called themselves *homines*, *heroes*, or by some term equally complimentary.

The present national sense of the word is wholly secondary and derivative. Originally it was no more the name of a people or a language than the word *Vulgate* in the expression *the Vulgate translation of the Scriptures* is the name of a people or a language.

§ 171. *Teutonic*.—The history of this word is closely connected with that of the preceding; inasmuch as both have the same combination of letters for their first syllable, viz. T. E. U. T. On the other hand, the final syllables are different. Are the two words the same? The common element TEUT is in favour of their being so.

Again,—about the tenth century the Latin writers upon German affairs began to use not only the words *Theotiscus* and *Theotiscé*, but also the words *Teutonicus* and *Teutonicé*. Upon this Grimm remarks that the latter term sounded more learned; since *Teutonicus* was a classical word, an adjective derived from the Gentile name of the Teutones conquered by Marius. This is likely enough. At any rate, no fact is more certain than that, about the time in question, the Germans were called, indifferently, either *Theot-isci*, or *Teut-onici*.

What does this prove? That the word *Teutonicus* (= *Theotiscus*) came from the classical term *Teutones* is admitted; though this is by no means certain, inasmuch as the word may have been formed after the analogy of *Romanice*.

Admitting this, I by no means believe that, *on the strength of their name*, the *Teutonici* (= *Theotisci*) were of the same stock with the classical *Teutones*; neither does the similarity prove that they were. I doubt whether it even *implies* so much—*i. e.* when taken alone. Its application, however, at the time in question, to populations unequivocally German, and its use as a synonym with *Dutch* (*Theotiscus*) do more than the name itself. The name itself proves no more than is proved by the presence of the root *L-t*, in the words *Læti*, and *Latini*, names from which no one has argued that the *Latins* and *Læti* were the same.

Of far greater importance than the use of the word *Teutonicus* in the tenth century is its use in the first and second—its use by the classical writers. Did they use it as equivalent to German? Some did—Velleius Paterculus most especially. Nevertheless, the usual meaning of the word *Teutones* in the classical writers is to denote a population identical with, or similar to, the *Teutones* conquered by Marius. This it meant, and nothing more. In like manner the adjective *Teutonicus* meant *after the fashion of the Teutones*. I imagine that if a poet of the times in question were asked what he meant by the epithet, such would be his answer. That he would say that *Teutonicus* was only another word for *Germanicus*, and that the *Teutones* were *Germans*, I do not imagine, admitting, however, that a geographer or historian might do so. The probable reason for this will soon appear. At present, the classical rendering of *Teutones* and *Teutonici* is *like the men whom Marius conquered*—whoever they were. Of course, this term connoted something else. It was applied to the colour and texture of the hair; so that we read of *Teutonici capilli*. It was applied to the manner of throwing javelins, so that we hear of men who were—

Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateias.

Æneid, lib. vii. l. 741.

It was applied to several other characteristics besides. Now, even if we admit all these to be common to the Teutones and Germans, we get no evidence as to the two words bearing the same meaning. All that we get is the fact that *Teutonicus* meant *like the men conquered by Marius*, and that these had certain points in common with the Germans.

Hence—the question as to the German origin of the *Teutones* must be discussed chiefly on its own merits, and, to a great extent, independently of the fact of the words *Teutonic* and *Dutch* having been used as synonyms; for it has already been remarked that it was quite impossible for the *Teut-* in the classical word *Teut-ones*, and the *Teut-* in the medieval form *Teut-iscus*, to be one and the same word, with one and the same meaning. The *Teut-* in *Teut-iscus* could have no existence until the contrast between the Latin as a learned, and the German as an unlearned, language had become prominent and familiar to both Germans and Latins. On the other hand, the *Teut-* in *Teut-ones* appears far too early for anything of the sort.

Again—the syllables *Vulg-*, and *Belg-*, are quite as much alike as *Teuton-*, and *Deut-sch*; yet how unreasonable it would be for an Englishman to argue that he was a descendant of the *Belgæ* because he spoke the *Vulgar* Tongue.

Mutatis mutandis, however, this is the argument of many of the German writers—though not of all. Are we then to say that it is only *some* of the German writers who identify the *Deut-sch* and the *Teut-ons* on the strength of the name? We can scarcely do this. As far as my own reading and experience go, I can safely say that I have never yet met a German, who, in some way or other, either consciously or unconsciously, did not argue from the similarity of name to the descent of his countrymen from the men who fought against Marius. He has done this even though he has not been guilty of the error just indicated. Nor has he done it upon unreasonable, though (in my mind) insufficient grounds.

Though the *Teut-* in *Teut-ones* is not the *Teut-* in *Teut-iscus* in its secondary sense of *vulgar*, or *popular*, as opposed to *learned* and *cultivated*, it may still be the same word with its primary meaning of *people*. It is by no means unlikely

for an invading nation to call themselves *the nation, the nations, the people*, &c. Neither, if a German tribe had done so, would the word employed be very unlike *Teuton-es*. Although the word *piud-a* = *nation* or *people*, is generally strong in its declension (so making the plural *piud-ôs*), it is found also in a weak form with its plural *thiot-ûn* = *Teuton-*. See *Deutsche Grammatik*, i. 630.

Again—we have the *Saltus Teut-o-bergius* mentioned by Tacitus (*Annal.* lib. i. p. 60). Whatever may be the power of the *Teut-* in *Teutones*, it is highly probable that here it means *people*, in other words, that it is the *Teut-* in *Dut-ch*, and that in its primary sense *populus* rather than *vulgus*. It means either *the hill of the people*, or *the city of the people*; according as the syllable *-berg-* is derived from *báirgs* = *a hill*, or from *baúrgs* = *a city*. In either case the compound is allowable, *e.g.* *diot-wēc*, *public way*, Old High-German; *thiod-scatho*, *robber of the people*, Old-Saxon; *þëód-cynning*, *þeod-mearc*, *boundary of the nation*, Anglo-Saxon; *þíód-land*, *þíód-vëgr*, *people's way*, Icelandic.

The evidence, then, is reduced to the mere fact of the first syllable in *Teut-ones*, probably, meaning *people*; whilst (if so) it was a German gloss.

That *people*, however, was actually its meaning is only a probability. There is not a tittle of external evidence on the point.

But, supposing that there were, it would by no means follow that because it was a German word it was *exclusively* so. The root *p-lk* (*v-lg*) is equally Slavonic and Latin—*pulk* = *vulgus*, as well as the German *folk*.

Such are the reasons against too much stress on the root *Teut-*, in *Teut-ones*. Let us now take the rest of the evidence. Velleius Paterculus has been noticed.

Tacitus makes no mention of the Teutones at all.

Ptolemy mentions both *Teut-onarii* and *Teut-ones*. The former looks like a German word; it being probable that the *-arii* = *wære*. If so, *Teuton-* is the name of a place. The localities of both these populations are other than German rather than German. Again—admitting *Teutonarii* to be a German word, it is by no means certain that it applies to a German population.

The remaining evidence in favour of the Teutones having been German lies in their connection with the Cimbri. What is the proof of these having been German? In nine cases out of ten the discreditable answer is "their connection with the evidently *Dutch Teutones*"—an answer that shows that the reasoning is in a vicious circle.

The doctrine to which the present writer has long committed himself is as follows:—for certain reasons, the knowledge of the precise origin and locality of the nations conquered by Marius was, at an early period, confused and indefinite. New countries were made known without giving any further information. Hence, the locality of the Cimbri was always pushed forwards beyond the limits of the geographical areas accurately ascertained. Finally, their supposed locality retrograded continually northwards, until it fixed in the districts of Sleswick and Jutland, where the barrier of the sea, and the increase of geographical knowledge (with one exception) prevented it from getting further.

This view arises out of the examination of the language of the historians and geographers as examined in order, from Sallust to Ptolemy.

a. b. Of Sallust and Cicero, the language points to Gaul as the home of the nation in question; and that without the least intimation of its being any particularly distant portion of that country.

c. Cæsar, whose evidence ought to be conclusive, fixes them to the south of the Marne and Seine. This we learn, not from the direct text, but from inference: "Gallos—a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit."—*Bell. Gall.* i. 1. "Belgas—solos esse qui, patrum nostrorum memoria, omni Gallia vexata, Teutones Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint."—*Bell. Gall.* ii. 4. Now if the Teutones and Cimbri had moved from north to south, they would have clashed with the Belgæ first, and with the other Gauls afterwards. The converse, however, was the fact.

d. Diodorus Siculus, without defining their locality, deals throughout with the Cimbri as a Gallic tribe. Besides this, he gives us one of the elements of the assumed indistinctness of ideas in regard to their origin, viz. their hypothetical con-

nection with the Cimmerii. In this recognition of what might have been called the *Cimmerian theory*, he is followed by Strabo and Plutarch.—*Diod. Sicul.* v. 32. *Strabo*, vii. *Plutarch*, *Vit. Marii*.

e. The next writer who mentions them is Strabo. In confirmation of the view taken above, this author places the Cimbri on the northernmost limit of the area geographically known to him, viz. *beyond* Gaul and *in* Germany, between the Rhine and the Elbe:—Τῶν δὲ Γερμάνων, ὥς εἶπον, οἱ μὲν προσάρκτιοι παρηκοῦσι τῷ Ὠκεανῷ. Γνωρίζονται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥήνου λάβοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβίου. Τούτων δὲ εἰσὶ γνωριμώτατοι Σούγαμβροί τε καὶ Κίμβροι. Τὰ δὲ πέραν τοῦ Ἀλβίου τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ὠκεανῷ παντάπασιν ἄγνωστα ἡμῖν ἐστίν.—*Lib.* iv. Further proof that this was the frontier of the Roman world we get from the statement which soon follows, viz. that “thus much was known to the Romans from their successful wars, and that more would have been known had it not been for the injunction of Augustus forbidding his generals to cross the Elbe.”—*Lib.* iv.

f. Velleius Paterculus agrees with his contemporary Strabo. He places them beyond the Rhine, and deals with them as Germans:—“Tum Cimbri et Teutoni transcendere Rhenum, multis mox nostris suisque cladibus nobiles.”—ii. 8. “Effusa—immanis vis Germanarum gentium quibus nomen Cimbris ac Teutonis erat.”—*Ibid.* 12.

g. The author who most mentions in detail the tribes beyond the Elbe is also the author who most pushes back the Cimbri towards the north. This is Ptolemy. Coincident with his improved information as to the parts southward, he places them at the extremity of the area known to him:—Καὶχοι οἱ μείζονες μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβίου ποταμοῦ· ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἐπὶ αὐχένα τῆς Κιμβρικής Χερσονήσου Σάξονες· πάντων δὲ ἀρκτικώτεροι Κίμβροι.—*Ptolemæi Germania*.

Such is the evidence of those writers, Greek or Roman, who deal with the local habitation of the Cimbri rather than with the general history of that tribe. As a measure of the indefinitude of their ideas, we have the confusion, already noticed, between the Cimbri and Cimmerii, on the parts of Diodorus, Strabo, and Plutarch. A better measure occurs in the following extract from Pliny, who not only fixes the Cimbri in three

places at once, but also (as far as we can find any meaning in his language) removes them so far northward as Norway:—
 “Alterum genus Ingævones; quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni, ac Chaucorum gentes. Proximi Rheno Istævones; quorum pars Cimbri mediterranei.”—iv. 28. “Promontorium Cimbrorum excurrent in maria longe peninsulam efficit, quæ Cartris appellatur.”—Ibid. 27. “Sevo Mons” (the mountain-chains of Norway) “immanem ad Cimbrorum usque promontorium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur, refertus insulis, quarum clarissima, Scandinavia est, incomptæ magnitudinis.”—Ibid. Upon confusion like this it is safe to say that there must be a misconception somewhere.

To say the least, then, it is doubtful whether the word *Teuton* is properly applied to a German population; however, German the word *Teut-iscus* (= *Deut-sch*) may be. From this we get the Italian form *Tedesco*, and a French form *Tudesque*, formed after the fashion of *grotesque*.

§ 172. *Anglo-Saxon*.—The *Lingua-Anglorum* of Beda is translated by Alfred *on Englisce*. So old is the word *English*. This is the commoner term. At the same time the word *Saxon* is in use—*fures quos Saxonice dicimus vergeld-peovas*. (See D. G. *Introduction to third edition*, p. 2.)

Why do we call the older stages of the English Language Anglo-Saxon, when they are so clearly English? This question is ably urged by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April and May, 1852, who would replace the ordinary nomenclature in the following manner:—

1. A.D. 550—1150 *Old-English* (Anglo-Saxon).
2. — 1150—1350 *Early-English* (Semi-Saxon).
3. — 1350—1550 *Middle-English* (First-English*).
4. — 1550—1852 *New-English* (Later-English).

§ 173. *Icelandic, Old Norse*.—Although Icelandic is the usual name for the mother-tongue of the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian, the Norwegian philologists generally prefer the term *Old Norse*.

In favour of this view is the fact that Norway was the

* Who uses this term?

mother-country, Iceland the colony, and that some portions of what is called Old Icelandic was composed in Norway.

Still the reason is insufficient; since the present term *Icelandic* is given to the language not because Iceland *was* the country that *produced*, but because it *is* the country that has *preserved* it.

Suppose that, whilst the Latin of Virgil and Cicero in Italy had been changing into the modern Italian, in some old Roman colony (say Sardinia) it had remained either wholly unaltered, or else, altered so little as for the modern *Sardinian*—provided he could read at all—to be able to read the authors of the Augustan age, just like those of the era of Charles Albert; no other portion of the old Roman territory—not even Rome itself—having any tongue more like to that of the Classical writers than the most antiquated dialect of the present Italian. Suppose, too, that the term *Latin* had become obsolete, would it be imperative upon us to call the language of the Classics *Old Italian*, *Old Roman*, or at least *Old Latin*, when no modern native of Rome, Latium, or Italy could read them? Would it be wrong to call it *Sardinian*, when every Sard *could* read them? I think not. *Mutatis mutandis*, this is the case with Iceland and Norway.

§ 174. *The question of convenience.*—The chief subject in connection with the names that have just passed under review has been the theoretic propriety, or impropriety, of them. It is, however, nearly certain that this will have but little to do with their adoption and currency. The practical facts of most importance in this way are (1), the extent to which a given form is actually in use, and (2), its convenience or inconvenience.

Gothic.—The word *Gothic* is more current than convenient. At the same time, it is chiefly inconvenient to the general philologue, to the systematic ethnologist, and to the special investigator of history of the *Sarmatian* stock. For the comparatively limited field of German philology, it is well nigh unexceptionable. For this reason it is likely to keep its place longer than it deserves. The present writer is more vexed by it, than, perhaps, any one else; yet he must take it as he finds it, however desirous of replacing it by the term *German*.

Dutch.—The English and continental powers of the word are difficult to reconcile. In English it means the language of Holland, as opposed to that of Germany. In Germany it means *German*. Then there are the further complications arising out of the term *Hoch-Deutsch* (*High-Dutch*), and *Platt-Deutsch*. It is doubtful whether these difficulties would be met by returning to the original *English* power of the word, which was (to a certain extent) identical with the modern German. It was so to a certain extent, inasmuch as in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries *High-Dutch* meant the present literary German, *Low-Dutch* meaning the Dutch of Holland—the Dutch of *Holland* rather the *Platt-Deutsch* dialects of Germany Proper.

The simple form *Dutch* is an inconvenient name for the language of Holland.

The compound *Low-Dutch* is also inconvenient.

The most correct name, the name current both in Germany Proper and Holland, is *Netherlandish*; but this is a compound which is displeasing to the English ear, sounding too like the dystogistic term *outlandish*.

Netherlandic is hybrid—*i. e.* English in respect to its first three syllables, Greek in respect to its last.

Flemish, if the Dutch of Holland would consent to use it, would, perhaps, prove a useful term, for it must be remembered that, in *philology*, when we talk of the Dutch (of Holland) we also mean the Flemish (of Belgium). Both must be denoted by the same word.

The name that, individually, I find most convenient for the Dutch of Holland and of Belgium, as opposed to the *High-German* and *Platt-Deutsch* of Germany is *Batavian*.

The two other words (*High-German* and *Platt-Deutsch*) are also convenient—though objections of no small weight lie against them. In the first place—

1. They are more or less correlative terms. Nevertheless, the difference of form disguises this correlation.

2. Secondly.—*Platt-Deutsch* is an absolutely foreign word, a foreign word, too, which is nearly sure to be mispronounced.

Be it so. The words are, still, convenient. We may learn this by trying to mend them.

Say *High-German* and *Low-German*.—This means too

much ; since *Low-German* is used as a generic term, including the Platt-Deutsch dialects, and a great deal more, viz. the English, and the Dutch of Holland. Or—

Say, *High-Dutch* and *Low-Dutch*.—The word Low-Dutch suggests the Dutch of Holland (the *Batavian*). Or—

Say, *Hoch-Deutsch* and *Platt-Deutsch*.—We get two foreign words instead of one.

Upon the whole, the three best names seem to be (1), *High-German*, (2) *Platt-Deutsch* (*Plattoitsh*, or *Pladdoitsch*),* and (3), *Batavian*.

Teutonic.—As opposed to *Norse* or *Scandinavian*, the word is useful. In this case it denotes the languages of Germany Proper, Holland, and England as opposed to the Danish, Swedish, &c. In short, it is a convenient name for the primary division of the so-called Gothic (German) stock.

Saxon — *Anglo-Saxon* — *Angle*, *English*, &c.—Theoretically, the views of the author already referred to are strictly correct, and they are, of course, strengthened by the doctrine (if sound) of the present writer.

As to the foreign origin of the word *Saxon*, the only objections that lie against it are practical. Even if the terms *Anglo-Saxon* and *Semi-Saxon* be got rid of, there is the *Old-Saxon* to be dealt with. When an unexceptionable term for this has become current, the word *Saxon* may safely be ejected from German Philology.

Scandinavian, *Norse*, &c.—The first of these terms would be unnecessary if it were not for the tendency of the other to occasionally engender a certain false notion.

Scandinavian means the languages of the northern branch of the Gothic (or German) stock, as contrasted with the *Teutonic*. So doing, it means the Danish as well as the Swedish, and the Swedish as well as the Norwegian—also the Feroic and the Icelandic.

Now *Norse* may mean this also ; but it may also mean *Norwegian* as opposed to Swedish, *Norwegian* as opposed to Danish, *Norwegian* as opposed to Icelandic.

On the other hand, *Scandinavian* is inconvenient. Its power in Philology is different from its power in Geography.

* Or *Platteitch* (*Pladdeitch*).

In Philology it includes Denmark. No one would hesitate in saying that the Danish was one of the Scandinavian languages. In Geography (generally at least) it excludes Denmark. Few would say that in visiting Copenhagen they were visiting Scandinavia. Scandinavia, in *geography*, means Sweden and Norway.

If the nomenclature for the northern branch of the Gothic (or German) stock were likely to be settled in England, rather than between the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, and Icelanders, the question would be a simple one. *Scandinavian* might be eliminated altogether, *Norse* might replace it, and *Norwegian* denote the Norse of Norway, just as *Danish*, *Swedish*, and *Icelandic* would denote that of Denmark, Sweden, and Iceland.

But this is not likely to be the case. Meanwhile the Norwegian philologues eschew the word *Icelandic*, and use *Old Norse* instead; the Danes demurring to the substitution.

Of the literature thus designated some portion was undoubtedly Norwegian rather than Icelandic.

Another portion was undoubtedly Icelandic rather than Norwegian.

A third is of uncertain origin.

This third portion the English philologue most conveniently calls *Old Norse* (or simply *Norse*).

The second he conveniently calls *Old Icelandic*.

The first he conveniently calls *Old Norwegian*.

What the scholars, however, of the countries most interested in the matter will do is uncertain. It is only certain that by calling everything *Old Norse* the nomenclature for the special and proper *Old Norwegian* is impaired.

Now this is by no means a matter of indifference. On the contrary, certain peculiarities of the special and proper Norse of Norway (the *Old Norwegian*) require notice. One of them is the important form *-sc* instead of *-st*, as the sign of the so-called passive voice—a form of pre-eminent value, inasmuch as it points to the origin of a passive voice in a middle, of a middle in a reflective, and of a reflective in the combination of the verb and pronoun.

The present chapter, along with the one which preceded it, has been written for the sake of indicating the extent to which both the classification and the nomenclature of the German stock of language are matters that we should reconsider rather than acquiesce in. There is much to be done even in the arrangement of our subject-matter and the naming of our tools—more than the generality of writers admit.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE RELATION OF THE ENGLISH TO THE ANGLO-SAXON, AND
THE STAGES OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

§ 175. IF the present English of the nineteenth century be compared with the Anglo-Saxon of the tenth, the following points of difference will be observed:—

1. The Anglo-Saxon language contained words that are either wanting in the present English, or, if found, used in a different sense.

A. S.	English.	A. S.	English.
lyft	<i>air</i>	swithe	<i>very</i>
lichoma	<i>body</i>	sāre	<i>very</i>
stefn	<i>voice</i>	sith	<i>late</i>
theód	<i>people</i>	reccan	<i>care about</i>
ece	<i>everlasting</i>	ongitan	<i>understand</i>
hwæt	<i>sharp</i>	sweltan	<i>die, &c.</i>

These words, which are very numerous, although lost (or changed as to meaning) in the current English, are often preserved in the provincial dialects.

2. The present English contains words that were either wanting in the Anglo-Saxon, or, if found, used in a different sense—*voice, people, conjugal, philosophy, alchemist, very, survey, shawl*, and other words, to the amount of some hundreds. These have been introduced since the time of the Anglo-Saxons, from the Latin, Greek, French, Arabic, and other languages.

3. Words found in both Anglo-Saxon and English appear in different forms in the different languages.

A. S.	English.	A. S.	English.
án	<i>one</i>	gærs	<i>grass</i>
eahta	<i>eight</i>	ic	<i>I</i>
nygon	<i>nine</i>	spræc	<i>speech</i>
endlufon	<i>eleven</i>	eáge	<i>eye, &c.</i>

More important, however, than the differences between word and word are those between inflection and inflection. Thus—

4. The Anglo-Saxon contained grammatical forms that are wanting in the present English.

A. S.	English.	A. S.	English.
tung- <i>ena</i>	<i>tongues</i>	god- <i>ra</i>	<i>good</i>
word- <i>a</i>	<i>words</i>	wi- <i>t</i>	<i>we two</i>
treow- <i>u</i>	<i>tree-s</i>	gi- <i>t</i>	<i>ye two</i>
sun- <i>a</i>	<i>son-s</i>	hwo- <i>ne</i>	<i>who-m</i>
god- <i>an</i>	<i>good</i>	we luf- <i>iath</i>	<i>we love</i>
god- <i>re</i>	<i>good</i>	we luf- <i>odon</i>	<i>we loved</i>
god- <i>ne</i>	<i>good</i>	to luf- <i>ianne</i>	<i>to love.</i>
god- <i>es</i>	<i>good</i>		

5. The present English contains grammatical forms that were wanting in Anglo-Saxon. The words *ours*, *yours*, *theirs*, *hers*, were unknown in Anglo-Saxon.

6. Grammatical forms found both in the Anglo-Saxon and the English appear with different forms in the different languages.

A. S.	English	A. S.	English
smith- <i>es</i>	<i>smith's</i>	hvá- <i>m</i>	<i>who-m</i>
smith- <i>as</i>	<i>smith-s</i>	blets- <i>ode</i>	<i>bless-ed, &c.</i>
hir- <i>e</i>	<i>her</i>		

§ 176. In detail—

NOUNS.—*Gender*.—In Anglo-Saxon there are three genders, the masculine, the feminine, and the neuter. With *adjectives* each gender has its peculiar declension; with *substantives* there are also appropriate terminations, but only to a certain degree; *e.g.* of words ending in *-a* (*nama*, a name; *cuma*, a guest), it may be stated that they are always masculine; of words in *-u* (*sunu*, a son; *gifu*, a gift), that

they are never neuter; in other words, that they are either masculine or feminine.

The definite article varies with the gender of its substantive; *þæt eage*, the eye; *se steorra*, the star; *seo tunge*, the tongue.

Of Number.—The plural form in *-en* (as in *oxen*), rare in English, was common in Anglo-Saxon. It was the regular termination of a whole declension; *e.g. eágan*, eyes; *steorran*, stars; *tungan*, tongues. Besides this, the Anglo-Saxons had forms in *-u* and *-a*, as *ricu*, kingdoms; *gifa*, gifts. The termination *-s* current in the present English was confined to a single gender and to a single declension, as *endas*, ends; *dagas*, days; *smiðas*, smiths.

Of Case.—Of these the Saxons had, for their substantives, at least three; viz. the nominative, dative, genitive. With the pronouns and adjectives there was a true accusative form; and with a few especial words an ablative or instrumental one. *Smið*, a smith; *smiðe*, to a smith; *smiðes*, of a smith. Plural, *smiðas*, smiths; *smiðum*, to smiths; *smiða*, of smiths: *he*, he; *hine*, him; *him*, to him; *his*, his; *se*, the; *þa*, the; *þy*, with the; *þam*, to the; *þæs*, of the.

Of the dative in *-um*, the word *whilom* (*at times, at whiles*) is a still extant and an almost isolated specimen.

Of Declension.—In *Anglo-Saxon* it is necessary to determine the termination of a substantive. There is the weak, or simple declension for words ending in a vowel (as *eage*, *steorra*, *tunga*), and the strong, or complex declension for words ending in a consonant (*smið*, *spræc*, *leáf*). The letters *i* and *u* are dealt with as semivowels, semivowels being dealt with as consonants; so that words like *sunu* and *gifu* belong to the same declension as *smið* and *spræc*.

That the form of adjectives varies with their definitude or indefinitude, has already been seen: definitive adjectives following the inflection of the simple; indefinite ones that of the complex declension.

The chief details of the Anglo-Saxon declension have, also, been shown.

The Anglo-Saxon inflection of the participles present is remarkable. With the exception of the form for the genitive plural definite (which, instead of *-ena*, is *-ra*,) they follow the

declension of the adjectives. From the masculine substantives formed from them, and denoting the agent, they may be distinguished by a difference of inflection.

<i>Participle.</i>		<i>Substantive.</i>	
Wegferende = <i>Wayfaring.</i>		Wegferend = <i>Wayfarer.</i>	
<i>Sing. Nom.</i>	Wegferende		Wegferend.
<i>Acc.</i>	Wegferendne		Wegferend.
<i>Abl.</i>	Wegferende		Wegferende.
<i>Dat.</i>	Wegferendum		Wegferende.
<i>Gen.</i>	Wegferendes		Wegferendes.
<i>Plur. Nom.</i>	Wegferende		Wegferendas.
<i>Dat.</i>	Wegferendum		Wegferendum.
<i>Gen.</i>	Wegferendra		Wegferenda.

PRONOUNS.—*Personal.*—Of the pronominal inflection in Saxon, the character may be gathered from the chapter upon pronouns. At present, it may be stated that, like the Mæso-Gothic, and the Icelandic, the Anglo-Saxon language possessed for the first two persons a *dual* number; inflected as follows:—

<i>1st Person.</i>			<i>2nd Person.</i>		
<i>Nom.</i>	Wit	<i>We two.</i>	<i>Nom.</i>	Git	<i>Ye two.</i>
<i>Acc.</i>	Unc	<i>Us two.</i>	<i>Acc.</i>	Inc	<i>You two.</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	Uncer	<i>Of us two.</i>	<i>Gen.</i>	Incer	<i>Of you two.</i>

Besides this, the demonstrative, possessive, and relative pronouns, as well as the numerals *twa* and *preo*, had a fuller declension than they have at present.

VERBS. — *Mood.* — The subjunctive mood, that in the present English (with the exception of the conjugation of the verb substantive) differs from the indicative only in the third person singular, was in Anglo-Saxon inflected as follows:—

<i>Indicative Mood.</i>			
<i>Pres. Sing.</i>	1.	Lufige.	<i>Plur. 1.)</i>
	2.	Lufast.	2.)
	3.	Lufað.	3.)

<i>Subjunctive Mood.</i>			
<i>Pres. Sing.</i>	1.)		<i>Plur. 1.)</i>
	2.)	Lufige.	2.)
	3.)		3.)

The Saxon infinitive ended in *-an* (*lufian*), and besides this there was a so-called gerundial form, *to lufigenne*.

Tense.—In regard to tense, the Anglo-Saxon coincided with the English. The present language has two tenses, the present and the past; the Saxon had no more. This past tense the modern English forms either by addition (*love, loved*), or by change (*fall, fell*). So did the Anglo-Saxons.

Number and Person.—In the present English the termination *-eth* (*moveth*) is antiquated. In Anglo-Saxon it was the only form recognised. In English the plural number (indicative as well as subjunctive) has no distinguishing inflection. It was not so in Anglo-Saxon. There, although the *persons* were identical in form, the *numbers* were distinguished by the termination *-að* for the indicative, and *-n* for the subjunctive. (*See above*.)

Such are the chief points in the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs that give a difference of character between the ancient Anglo-Saxon and the modern English.

§ 177. The English language stands to the Anglo-Saxon in the relation of a derived language to a mother tongue, or (changing the expression) the English may be called the Anglo-Saxon in its *most modern* form; whilst the Anglo-Saxon may, with equal propriety, be called the English in its *most ancient* form. However, it is not so important to settle the particular mode of expressing the nature of this relation, as to become familiar with certain facts connected with recent languages as compared with the older ones from which they originate; facts which chiefly arise out of the tenses of the verbs, and the cases of the nouns.

The Middle English has inflections which are wanting in the Modern; and the Early English has inflections which are wanting in the Middle.

The Middle Frisian has inflections which are wanting in the Modern; and the Early Frisian has inflections which are wanting in the Middle.

The earlier the stage of the Dutch language, the more numerous the inflections.

The earlier the stage of the High-German, the more numerous the inflections.

The inflection of the Mæso-Gothic is fuller than that of any of the allied languages.

The earlier the stage of the Danish, the more numerous the inflections.

The earlier the stage of the Swedish, the more numerous the inflections.

The earlier the stage of the Icelandic, the more numerous the inflections.

So much for the comparison between the different stages of one and the same language. It shows that the earlier the stage, the fuller the inflection; the later the stage, the scantier the inflection; in other words, it shows that as languages become modern, they lose their inflections.

There is another method of proving this rule; and that is by the comparison of allied languages that change with different degrees of rapidity.

The Danish language has changed more rapidly than the Swedish, and, consequently, has fewer of its original inflections.

The Swedish language has changed more rapidly than the Feroic, and, consequently, has fewer of its original inflections.

The Feroic has changed more rapidly than the Icelandic, and, consequently, has fewer of its original inflections.

The Icelandic has changed so slowly, that it retains almost all the original inflections of the Old Norse.

In all the languages allied to the English, the earlier the stage, the more numerous are the inflections, and *vice versâ*.

Smiðum the dative plural of the Anglo-Saxon *smið*, is equivalent in meaning to the English *to smiths*, or to the Latin *fabris*. *Smiðum*, however, is a single Anglo-Saxon word (a substantive, and nothing more); whilst its English equivalent is two words (*i. e.* a substantive with the addition of a preposition). The letter *s*, in *smiths*, shows that the word is plural. The *-um*, in *smiðum*, does this and something more. It is the sign of the *dative case* plural. The *-um*, in *smiðum*, is the part of a word. The preposition *to* is a separate word with an independent existence. *Smiðum* is the radical syllable *smið*, plus the subordinate inflectional syllable *-um*, the sign of the dative case. *To smiths* is the substantive *smiths*, plus the preposition *to*, equivalent in power to the sign of a dative case,

but different from it in form. As far, then, as the word just quoted is concerned, the Anglo-Saxon differs from the English thus. It expresses a given idea by a modification of the form of the root, whereas the modern English denotes the same idea by the addition of a preposition. The Saxon inflection is superseded by a combination of words.

The part that is played by the preposition with nouns, is played by the auxiliaries (*have, be, &c.*) with verbs.

The sentences in italics are mere variations of the same general statement.

1. *The earlier the stage of a given language, the greater the amount of its inflectional forms, and the later the stage of a given language, the smaller the amount of them.*

2. *As languages become modern, they substitute prepositions and auxiliary verbs for cases and tenses.*

3. *The amount of inflection is in the inverse proportion to the amount of prepositions and auxiliary verbs.*

4. *In the course of time, languages drop their inflection and substitute in its stead circumlocutions by means of prepositions, &c. The reverse never takes place.*

5. *Given two modes of expression, the one inflectional (smiðum), the other circumlocutional (to smiths), we can state that the first belongs to an early, the second to a late, stage of language.*

The present chapter, then, showing the relation of the English to the Anglo-Saxon, shows something more. It exhibits the *general* relation of a modern to an ancient language. As the English is to the Anglo-Saxon, so are the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian, to the Old Norse; so also the Modern High-German to the Mæso-Gothic; so the Modern Dutch of Holland to the Old Frisian; so, moreover, amongst the languages of a different stock, are the French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanese, and Wallachian to the Latin, and the Romaic to the Ancient Greek.

How far two languages pass with equal rapidity from their ancient to their modern, from their inflected to their uninflected state (in other words, how far all languages alter at the same rate), is another question that will be noticed elsewhere.

Akin to this is a second, viz.: how far the rate of change in

a given language can be accelerated by external circumstances? This second question bears immediately upon the history of the English language. The grammar of the current idiom compared with the grammar of the Anglo-Saxon is simplified. How far was this simplification of the grammar promoted by the Norman Conquest? The current views exaggerate the influence of the Norman Conquest and of French connections. The remark of Mr. Price in his Preface to Warton, acceded to by Mr. Hallam in his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, is, that every one of the other Low Germanic languages (affected by nothing corresponding to the Norman Conquest) displays the same simplification of grammar as the Anglo-Saxon (affected by the Norman Conquest) displays. Confirmatory of this remark, it may be added, that, compared with the Icelandic, the Danish and Swedish do the same. Derogatory to it is the comparatively complex grammar of the *New* German, compared, not only with the Old High-German, but with the Mæso-Gothic.

An extract from Mr. Hallam shall close the present section, and introduce the next.

“Nothing can be more difficult, except by an arbitrary line, than to determine the commencement of the English language: not so much, as in those on the Continent, because we are in want of materials, but rather from an opposite reason, the possibility of showing a very gradual succession of verbal changes that ended in a change of denomination. We should probably experience a similar difficulty, if we knew equally well the current idiom of France or Italy in the seventh and eighth centuries. For when we compare the earliest English of the thirteenth century with the Anglo-Saxon of the twelfth, it seems hard to pronounce why it should pass for a separate language, rather than a modification or simplification of the former. We must conform, however, to usage, and say that the Anglo-Saxon was converted into English:—1. By contracting and otherwise modifying the pronunciation and orthography of words. 2. By omitting many inflections, especially of the noun, and consequently making more use of articles and auxiliaries. 3. By the introduction of French derivatives. 4. By using less inversion and ellipsis, especially in poetry. Of these, the second alone, I think, can be considered as sufficient to describe a

new form of language; and this was brought about so gradually, that we are not relieved from much of our difficulty, as to whether some compositions shall pass for the latest offspring of the mother, or the earlier fruits of the daughter's fertility. It is a proof of this difficulty that the best masters of our ancient language have lately introduced the word Semi-Saxon, which is to cover everything from A.D. 1150 to A.D. 1250."—Chapter i. 47.

§ 178. At a given period, then, the Anglo-Saxon of the standard, and (if the expression may be used) classical authors, such as Cædmon, Alfred, Ælfric, &c., had undergone such a change as to induce the scholars of the present age to denominate it, not Saxon, but *Semi-Saxon*. It had ceased to be genuine Saxon, but had not yet become English. In certain parts of the kingdom, where the mode of speech changed more rapidly than elsewhere, the Semi-Saxon stage of our language came earlier. It was, as it were, precipitated.

The History of King Leir and his Daughters is found in two forms. Between these there is a difference either of dialect or of date, and possibly of both. Each, however, is Semi-Saxon. The extracts are made from *Thorpe's Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*.

Bladud hafde ene sune,
Leir was ihaten;
Efter his fader daie,
He heold þis drihlice lond,
Somed an his live,
Sixti winter.
He makade ane riche burh,
þurh radfulle his crafte,
And he heo lette nemnen,
Efter him seolvan;
Kaer-Leir hehte þe burh.
Leof heo wes þan kinge,
þa we, an ure leod-quide,
Leir-chestre clepiad,
Geare a þan holde dawon.

Bladud hadde one sone,
Leir was ihote,
After his fader he held þis lond,
In his owene hond,
Ilaste his lif-dages,
Sixti winter.
He makede on riche borh,
þorh wisemenne reade,
And hine lette nemni,
After him seolve;
Kair-Leir hehte þe borh.
Leof he was þan kinge;
þe we, on ure speche,
Lep-chestre cleopiep,
In þan eolde daiye.

Translation literal.

Bladud had a son,
 Lear was hight;
 After his father's days
 He held his liege land
 Together on (through) his life,
 Sixty winters.
 He made a rich borough
 Through his wise craft,
 And he it let name
 After himself.
 Caer Lear hight the burgh.
 Dear was it to the king.
 Which we on our language
 Leicester call
 Of yore on the old days.

Bladud had a son,
 Lear was hight
 After his father he held the land
 In his own hand
 Through his life-days
 Sixty winters.
 He made a rich borough
 Through wise men's counsel,
 And he let it name
 After himself.
 Caer Lear hight the borough.
 Dear was it to the king.
 Which we, on our speech,
 Leicester call
 In the old days.

The Grave, a poetical fragment, the latter part of the Saxon Chronicle, a Homily for St. Edmund's Day (given in the *Analecta*), and, above all, the printed extracts of the poem of *Layamon*, are the more accessible specimens of the Semi-Saxon. The *Ormulum*, although in many points English rather than Saxon, retains the dual number of the Anglo-Saxon pronouns. However, lest too much stress be laid upon this circumstance, the epistolary character of the *Ormulum* must be borne in mind.

It is very evident that if, even in the present day, there were spoken in some remote district the language of Alfred and Ælfric, such a mode of speech would be called, not Modern English, but Anglo-Saxon. This teaches us that the stage of language is to be measured, not by its date, but by its structure. Hence Saxon ends and Semi-Saxon begins, not at a given year, A.D., but at that time (whenever it be) when certain grammatical inflections disappear, and certain characters of a more advanced stage are introduced.

Some, amongst others, of the earlier changes of the standard Anglo-Saxon are—

1. The substitution of *-an* for *-as*, in the plural of substan-

tives, *munucan* for *munucas* (monks); and, conversely, the substitution of *-s* for *-n*, as *steorres* for *steorran* (stars). The use of *-s*, as the sign of the plural, without respect to gender or declension, may be one of those changes that the Norman Conquest forwarded; *-s* being the sign of the plural in Anglo-Norman.

2. The ejection or shortening of final vowels, *þæt ylc* for *þæt ylce*; *sone* for *sunu*; *name* for *nama*; *dages* for *dagas*.

3. The substitution of *-n* for *-m* in the dative case, *hwilon* for *hwilum*.

4. The ejection of the *-n* of the infinitive mood, *cumme* for *cuman* (to come), *nemne* for *nemnen* (to name).

5. The ejection of *-en* in the participle passive, *I-hote* for *gehaten* (called, hight).

6. The gerundial termination *-enne*, superseded by the infinitive termination *-en*; as *to lufian* for *to lufienne*, or *lufienne*.

7. The substitution of *-en* for *-að* in the persons plural of verbs; *hi clepen* (they call) for *hi clypiað*, &c.

The preponderance (not the occasional occurrence) of forms like those above constitute Semi-Saxon in contradistinction to standard Saxon, classical Saxon, or Anglo-Saxon proper.

§ 179. *Early English Stage*. — Further changes convert Semi-Saxon into Early English. Some, amongst others, are the following:—

1. The ejection of the dative plural termination *-um*, and the substitution of the preposition *to* and the plural sign *-s*; as *to smiths* for *smiðum*. Of the dative singular the *-e* is retained (*ende*, *worde*); but it is by no means certain that, although recognised in writing, it was recognised in pronunciation also.

2. The ejection of *-es* in the genitive singular whenever the preposition *of* came before it; *Godes love* (God's love), but the *love of God*, and not the *love of Godes*.

3. The syllables *-es* as a sign of the genitive case extended to all genders and to all declensions; *heart's* for *heortan*; *sun's* for *sunnan*.

4. The same in respect to the plural number; *sterres* for *steorran*; *sons* for *suna*.

5. The ejection of *-na* in the genitive plural; as *of tunges* for *tungena*.

6. The use of the word *the*, as an article, instead of *se*, &c.

The preponderance of the forms above (and not their occasional occurrence) constitutes Old English in contradistinction to Semi-Saxon.

The following extract from *Henry's History* (vol. viii. append. iv.) is the proclamation of Henry III. to the people of Huntingdonshire, A.D. 1258. It currently passes for the earliest specimen of English:—

“Henry, thurg Godes fultome, King on Engleneloande, lhoaurd on Yrloand, Duke on Normand, on Acquitain, Eorl on Anjou, send I greting, to alle hise holde, ilærde & ilewerde on Huntingdonshire.

“That witen ge well alle, thæt we willen & unnen (grant) thæt ure rædesmen alle other, the moare del of heom, thæ beoth ichosen thurg us and thurg thæt loandes-folk on ure Kuneriche, habbith idon, and schullen don, in the worthnes of God, and ure threowthe, for the freme of the loande, thurg the besigte of than toforen iseide rædesmen, beo stedfæst and ilestinde in alle thinge abutan ænde, and we heaten alle ure treowe, in the treowthe thæt heo us ogen, thet heo stede-feslliche healden & weren to healden & to swerien the isetnesses thet beon makede and beo to makien, thurg than toforen iseide rædesmen, other thurg the moare del of heom alswo, also hit is before iseide. And thet æhcother helpe thet for to done bitham ilche other, aganes alle men in alle thet heo ogt for to done, and to foangen. And noan ne of mine loande, ne of egetewhere, thurg this besigte, muge beon ilet other iwersed on oniewise. And gif oni ether onie cumen her ongenes, we willen & heaten, thæt alle ure treowe heom healden deadlichistan. And for thæt we willen thæt this beo stædfast and lestinde, we senden gew this writ open, iseined with ure seel, to halden amanges gew ine hord Witnes usselven æt Lundæn, thæne egetetenthe day on the monthe of Octobr, in the two and fowertigthe geare of ure crunning.”

In Modern English.

Henry, through God's support, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, of Acquitain, Earl of Anjou, sends greeting, to all his subjects, learned and unlearned (*i. e.* clergy and laity) of Huntingdonshire. This know ye well all, that we will and

grant, what our counsellors all or the more part of them, that be chosen through us and through the land-folk of our kingdom, have done, and shall do, to the honour of God, and our allegiance, for the good of the land, through the determination of those before-said counsellors, be stedfast and permanent in all things without end, and we enjoin all our lieges, by the allegiance that they us owe, that they stedfastly hold and swear to hold and to maintain the ordinances that be made, and be to be made through the before-said counsellors, or through the more part of them also, as it is before said, and that each other help that for to do by them each other, against all men, in all that they ought for to do, and to promote. And none either of my land nor of elsewhere, through this business, may be impeded or damaged in any way. And if any man or any woman cometh them against, we will and enjoin that all our lieges them hold deadly foes. And for that we will that this be stedfast and lasting, we send you this writ open, sealed with our seal, to keep amongst you in store. Witness ourself at London, the eighteenth day of the month of October, in the two and fortieth year of our crowning.

Some of the *Political Verses* (published by the Camden Society), *Havelok the Dane*, *William and the Werwolf*, *the Gestes of Alisaundre*, *King Horn*, *Ipomedon*, and *the King of Tars*; and, amongst the longer works, Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, and the poems of Robert of Bourn (Brunn), are (amongst others) Old English. Broadly speaking, the *Old English* may be said to begin with the reign of Henry III., and to end with that of Edward III.

In the Old English the following forms predominate.

1. A fuller inflection of the demonstrative pronoun, or definite article; *þan*, *þenne*, *þære*, *þam*;—in contradistinction to the Middle English.

2. The presence of the dative singular in *-e*; *ende*, *smithe*;—*ditto*.

3. The existence of a genitive plural in *-r* or *-ra*; *heora*, *theirs*; *aller*, of all;—*ditto*. This with substantives and adjectives is less common.

4. The substitution of *heo* for *they*, of *heora* for *their*, of *hem* for *them*;—in contradistinction to the latter stages of English, and in contradistinction to Old Lowland *Scotch*.

5. A more frequent use of *min* and *thin*, for *my* and *thy*;—in contradistinction to Middle and Modern English.

6. The use of *heo* for *she*;—in contradistinction to Middle and Modern English and Old Lowland *Scotch*.

7. The use of broader vowels; as in *iclepud* or *iclepod* (for *icleped* or *yclept*); *geongost*, youngest; *ascode*, asked; *eldore*, elder.

8. The use of the strong preterits (*see* the chapter on the tenses of verbs), where in the present English the weak form is found; *wex*, *wop*, *dalf*, for *waxed*, *wept*, *delved*.

9. The omission not only of the gerundial termination *-enne*, but also of the infinitive sign *-en* after *to*; *to honte*, *to speke*;—in contradistinction to Semi-Saxon.

10. The substitution of *-en* for *-ep* or *-eð*, in the first and second persons plural of verbs; *we wollen*, we will: *heo schullen*, they should;—*ditto*.

11. The comparative absence of the articles *se* and *seo*;—*ditto*.

12. The substitution of *ben* and *beeth*, for *synd* and *syndon* = *we*, *ye*, *they are*;—in contradistinction to Semi-Saxon.

§ 180. The degree to which the Anglo-Saxon was actually influenced by the Anglo-Norman has been noticed. The degree wherein the two languages came in contact is, plainly, another consideration. The first is the question, How far one of two languages influenced the other? The second asks, How far one of two languages had the opportunity of influencing the other? Concerning the extent to which the Anglo-Norman was used, I retail the following statements and quotations.

1. "Letters even of a private nature were written in Latin till the beginning of the reign of Edward I., soon after 1270, when a sudden change brought in the use of French."—*Mr. Hallam, communicated by Mr. Stevenson (Literature of Europe, i. 52, and note)*.

2. Conversation between the Members of the Universities was ordered to be carried on either in Latin or French:—"Si qua interesse proferant, colloquio Latino vel saltem Gallico perfruantur."—*Statutes of Oriel College, Oxford*.—*Hallam, ibid.* from Warton.

3. "The Minutes of the Corporation of London, recorded in

the Town Clerk's Office, were in French, as well as the Proceedings in Parliament, and in the Courts of Justice."—*Ibid.*

4. "In Grammar Schools, boys were made to construe their Latin into French."—*Ibid.* "*Pueri in scholis, contra morem cæterarum nationum, et Normannorum adventu, derelicto proprio vulgari, construere Gallice compelluntur. Item quod filii nobilium ab ipsis cunabulorum crepundiis ad Gallicum idioma informantur. Quibus profecto rurales homines assimilari volentes, ut per hoc spectabiliores videantur, Francigenari satagunt omni nisu.*"—*Higden* (*Ed. Gale*, p. 210).

That there was French in England before the battle of Hastings, appears on the authority of Camden:—

"Herein is a notable argument of our ancestors' steadfastness in esteeming and retaining their own tongue. For, as *before the Conquest*, they misliked nothing more in King Edward the Confessor, than that he was Frenchified, and accounted the desire of a foreign language then to be a foretoken of the bringing in of foreign powers, which indeed happened."—*Remains*, p. 30.

Edward III.—This is the reign when the *re-action* of the original English against the Norman-French began; and the time from which it steadily and progressively increased. The father of English poetry, Geoffrey Chaucer, wrote under Edward III.; so did his contemporary Wycliffe, and others of almost equal importance; their predecessors, who had written in English at all, having written either in the Old English, or the Semi-Saxon.

Edward IV.—The reign in which printing was introduced into England by William Caxton.—By this time, the Anglo-Norman language had become almost wholly superseded by the English, remaining only as the language of a few of the Courts of Law. The English, however, as may be expected, has changed from the English of Chaucer, and is approaching the character of the English of the writers under Henry VIII. In South Britain no poetical successor worthy of comparison with Chaucer has appeared. In Scotland, however, there is the dawning of a bright period—the reign of James IV.

Henry VIII.—The establishment of the Protestant Religion, and the revival of Classical Learning, are the two great influ-

ences in the reign of Henry VIII.; the effects of both upon the style of our writers and the language itself being beneficial. The works of Sir Thomas More, and the earliest translations of the Bible, are the chief instances of the now rapidly-increasing English literature.

Elizabeth.—During the long reign of Queen Elizabeth the language underwent considerable change, and the early Elizabethan writers are much less like the writers of the present century than the later ones. Indeed, what is called the age of Queen Elizabeth comprises the reign of James the First, and part of that of Charles the First. This is the age of Shakespeare and his contemporary dramatists. It is also the time when the present translation of the Bible was made. The extent to which the English of the time in question is marked by peculiar indications of antiquity is generally known; so that the present general sketch of the history of the English language ends with the death of James I.

§ 181. The *present* tendencies of the English may be determined by observation; and as most of them will be noticed in the Etymological part of this volume, the few here indicated must be looked upon as illustrations only.

1. The distinction between the Subjunctive and Indicative Mood is likely to pass away. We verify this by the very general tendency to say *If it is*, and *If he speaks*, for *If it be*, and *If he speak*.

2. The distinction (as far as it goes) between the Participle Passive and the Past Tense is likely to pass away. We verify this by the tendency to say *It is broke*, and *He is smote*, for *It is broken*, and *He is smitten*.

3. Of the double forms, *Sung* and *Sang*, *Drank* and *Drunk*, &c., one only will be the permanent.

As stated above, these tendencies are a few out of a number, and have been adduced in order to indicate the subject rather than to exhaust it.

§ 182. What the present language of England would have been had the Norman Conquest never taken place, the analogy of Holland, Denmark, and of many other countries enables us to determine. It would have been much as it is at present. What it would have been had the *Saxon* Con-

quest never taken place, is a question wherein there is far more speculation. Of France, of Italy, of Wallachia, and of the Spanish Peninsula, the analogies all point the same way. They indicate that the original Celtic would have been superseded by the Latin of the Conquerors, and consequently that our language in its later stages would have been neither British nor Gaelic, but Roman. Upon these analogies, however, we may refine. Italy was, from the beginning, Roman; the Spanish Peninsula was invaded full early; no ocean divided Gaul from Rome; and the war against the ancestors of the Wallachians was a war of extermination.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE KELTIC STOCK OF LANGUAGES, AND THEIR RELATIONS
TO THE ENGLISH.

§ 183. THE languages of Great Britain at the invasion of Julius Cæsar were of the Keltic Stock.

Of the Keltic Stock there are two Branches.

1. The British or Cambrian Branch, represented by the present Welsh, and containing, besides, the Cornish of Cornwall (lately extinct), and the Armorican of the French province of Brittany. It is almost certain that the old British, and the ancient language of Gaul, belonged to this branch.

2. The Gaelic or Erse Branch, represented by the present Irish Gaelic, and containing, besides, the Gaelic of the Highlands of Scotland and the Manks of the Isle of Man.

§ 184.

SPECIMENS.

The Lord's Prayer in Cornish.

OLDER FORM.

An Taz, ny es yn nêf, bethens
thy hannow ughelles, gwrênz doz
thy gulas ker: Bethens thy voth
gwrâz yn oar kepare hag yn nêf:
ro thyn ny hithow agan peb dyth
bara; gava thyn ny ny agan
cam, kepare ha gava ny neb es
cam ma erbyn ny; nyn homfrek
ny en antel, mez gwyth ny the
worth drok: rag gans te yn an
mighterneth, an creveder, hag
an' worryans, byz a venitha.

NEWER FORM.

Agan Taz, leb ez en nêv be-
nigas beth de hauno, gurra de
gulasketh deaz, de voth beth
gwrêz en' oar pokar en nêv; ro
dony hithow agan pyb dyth bara;
ha gava do ny agan cabmow,
pokara ny gava an gy leb es cam
ma war bidn ny; ha na dege ny
en antail, brez gwitha ny dort
droge: rag an mychteyrneth ew
chee do honnen, ha an crêvder,
ha an 'worryans, rag bisqueth ha
bisqueth.

§ 185.

Welsh.

MARK i. 1-8.

1. Dechreu efengyl Iesu Grist, Fab Duw ;
2. Fel yr ysgrifenydd yn y prophwydi, Wele, yr ydwyf fi yn anfon fy nghennad o flaen dy wyneb, yr hwn a barottoa dy ffordd o'th flaen.
3. Llef un yn llefain yn y diffaethwch, Parottôwch ffordd yr Arglwydd, gwnewch yn uniawn ei lwybrau ef.
4. Yr oedd Ioan yn bedyddio yn y diffaethwch, ac yn pregethu bedydd edifeirwch, er maddeuant pechodau.
5. Ac aeth allan atto ef holl wlad Judea, a'r Hierosolymitiaid, ac a'u bedyddiwyd oll ganddo yn afon yr Iorddonen, gan gyffesu eu pechodau.
6. Ac Ioan oedd wedi ei wisgo â blew camel, a gwregys croen ynghylch ei lwynau, ac yn bwyttu locustiaid a mel gwŷllt :
7. Ac efe a bregethodd, gan ddywedyd, Y mae yn dyfod ar fy ol i un cryfach na myfi, carrai esgidiau yr hwn nid wyf fi deilwng i ymostwng, ac i'w dattod.
8. Myfi yn wir a'ch bedyddiais chwi â dwfr : eithr efe a'ch bedyddia chwi â'r Yspryd Glân.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Yr oedd gan ryw wr ddau fab :
12. A'r ieuangaf o honynt a ddywedodd wrth *ei* dad, *Fy* nhad, dyro i mi y rhan a ddigwydd o'r dâ. Ac efe a rannodd iddynt *ei* fywyd.
13. Ac ar ol ychydig ddyddiau y mab ieuangaf a gasglodd y cwbl ynghyd, ac a gymmerth ei daith i wlad bell ; ac yno *efe* a wasgarodd ei ddâ, gan fyw yn afradlawn.
14. Ac wedi iddo dreulio y cwbl, y cododd newyn mawr trwy y wlad honno ; ac yntau a ddechreuodd fod mewn eisieu.
15. Ac efe a aeth ac a lynodd wrth un o ddinaswyr y wlad honno ; ac efe a'i hanfonodd ef i'w feusydd i borthi moch.
16. Ac efe a chwennychai lenwi ei fol â'r cibau a fwyttâi y moch ; ac ni roddodd neb iddo.
17. A phan ddaeth atto ei hun, efe a ddywedodd, Pa sawl gwas cyflog o'r eiddo fy nhad sydd yn cael eu gwala a'u gweddill o fara, a minnau yn marw o newyn ?

18. Mi a godaf, ac a âf at fy nhad, ac a ddywedaf wrtho, *Fy* nhad, pechais yn erbyn y nef, ac o'th flaen dithau;

19. Ac mwyach nid ydwyf deilwng i'm galw yn fab i ti: gwna fi fel un o'th weision cyflog.

§ 186.

Armorican of Bas-Bretagne.

MARK i. 1-8.

1. Derou Aviel Jézuz-Krist, mâb Doué.

2. Ével m'az eo skrivet gand ar profed Izaiaz: Chétu é kasann va éal dirâg da zremm, péhini a aozô ann hénd enn da raok.

3. Mouéz ann hini a lénv el léac'h distrô: Aozid hend ann Aotrou, grît ma vézô eeun hé wénodennou.

4. Iann a ioa el léac'h distrô ô badézi, hag ô prézégi badisiant ar binijen évid distaol ar béc'héjou.

5. Hag holl vrô Judéa, hag holl dud Jérusalem a zeûé d'hé gavout, hag é oant badézet gant-han é ster ar Jourdan, goudé béza ansavet hô féc'héjou.

6. Ha Iann a ioa gwisket gant bleô kanval, gand eur gouriz ler war-drô d'hé groazel, hag é tebré kileien-raden ha mél gouéz. Hag é prézégé, ô lavarout:

7. Eunn all a zeû war va lerc'h hag a zô kréoc'h égéd-oun: ha na zellézann két, ô stoui dira-z-han, diéréa liamm hé voutou.

8. Mé em eûz hô padézet enn dour; hôgen hén hô padézô er Spéred-Santel.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Eunn dén en doa daou vab:

12. Hag ar iaouanka anézhô a lavaraz d'hé dâd: Va zâd, rô d'in al lôden zanvez a zigouéz d'in. Hag hén a rannaz hé zanvez gant-hô.

13. Hag eunn nébeûd dervésiou goudé, ar mâb iaouanka, ô véza dastumet kémend en doa, en em lékéaz enn hent évit mond étrézég eur vrô bell meûrbéd, hag énô é tispîñaz hé zanvez ô véva gant gadélez.

14. Ha pa en doé dispiñet kémend en doa, é c'hoarvézaz eunn naounégez vrâz er vrô-zé, hag é teûaz da ézommékaat.

15. Kuîd éz éaz éta, hag en em lakaad a réaz é gôpr gand eunn dén eûz ar vrô. Hag hé-man hen kasaz enn eunn ti d'ézhan war ar méaz, évit mesa ar môc'h.

16. C'hoantéed en divijé leûña hé gôf gand ar c'hlosou a zebré ar môc'h: ha dén na rôé d'ézhan.

17. Hôgen ô véza distrôed d'ézhan hé unan, é lavaraz : A béd gôpraer zò é tî va zâd hag en deûz bara é leiz, ha mé a varv aman gand ann naoun ?

18. Sével a rinn, hag éz inn étrézé va zad, hag é livirinn d'ézhan : Va zâd, péc'hed em eûz a éneb ann énv hag enn da énep ;

19. N'ounn két talvoudek pelloc'h da véza galved da vâb : va zigémer ével unan eûz da c'hôpraerien.

§ 187.

Irish Gaelic (Gaelic).

MARK i. 1-8.

1. Tosach shoisgeil Iósa Chríod, Mhic Dé ;
2. Mar atá scríobhtha annsna fáidhibh, Féuch, cuirim mo theachdaire romhad, noch uillmheochas do shlighe romhad.
3. Guth an tí éimhgheas ar an bhfásach, Ollmhuighidh slighe an Tighearna, déanuidh a chasáin díreach.
4. Do bhí Eoin ag baisdeadh ar an bhfásach, agus ag seanmóir bhaisdigh na haithrighe do chum maithmheachuis na bpeacadh.
5. Agus do chúaidh tír Iúdaighe uile, agus luchd Iérusaléim a mach chuige, agus do baisdeadh leis íad uile a sruth Iordáin, ag admháil a bpeacadh.
6. Agus do bhí Eóin ar na éadughadh dó rúaínneach cámhall, agus crios leathair timcheall a leasruigh ; agus a sé biadh do itheadh sé, lócuisdighe agus mil choilteamhail ;
7. Agus do rinne sé seanmóir, ag rádh, Tig am dhiáighsi neach is neartmhuire na misi, ag nách fíu mé cromadh agus íallach a bhróg do sgáoileadh.
8. Go deimhin do bhaisd misi sibh lé huisge, achd cheana baisfidh seision sibh leis an Spioraid Náomh.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Do bhádar días mac ag duine áirighe :
12. Agus a dubhairt an tí dob óige aca ré *na* athair, Athair, tabhair dhamh an chuid roitheas *misi* dod mhaóin. Agus do roinn seision a mhaóin eatorra.
13. Agus tar éis bheagáin aimsire ag cruinniughadh a choda uile don mhac dob óige, do chúaidh sé air coigcrigh a dtalamh imchían, agus do dhiombail sé ann sin a mhaóin lé na bheathaidh báothchaithfigh.

14. Agus tar éis a choda uile do chaitheamh dhó, déirigh gorta romhór ann sa tír sin; agus do thosaigh seision ar bheith a riachdanus.

15. Agus do imthigh sé roimhe agus do cheangal sé e féin do cháthruightheóir don tír sin; noch do chuir fá na dhúitche a mach é do bhúachuilleachd muc.

16. Agus bá mhían leis a bholg do líonadh do na féithléoguibh do ithdís na muca: agus ní thugadh éundúine dhó *iad*.

17. Agus an tan do chuimhnigh sé air féin, a dubhairt sé, Gá mhéd do luchd túarasdail matharsa agá bhfuíl iomarcaidh aráin, agus misi ag dul a múgha lé gorta!

18. Eiréochaidh mé agus rachaidh mé dionnsuighe mathar, agus déaruidh mé ris, A athair, do pheacaigh mé a naghaidh neimhe agus ad fhíadhnuisisi.

19. Agus ní fíu mé feasda do mhacsa do ghairm dhióm: déana mé mar áon dod luchd thúarasduil.

§ 188.

Scotch Gaelic (Gaelic).

MARK i. 1-8.

1. Toiseach Soisgeil Iosa Criosd Mhic Dhé:

2. A réir mar a ta e scrìobhta anns na fàidhibh, Feuch, cuiream mo theachdair e roimh do ghnùis, a dh'ulluicheas do shlighe romhad.

3. Guth an ti a'dh'éigheas anns an fhàsach, Ulluichibh slighe an Tighearna, deanaibh a cheumanna dìreach.

4. Bha Eoin a' baisteadh anns an fhàsach, agus a' searmonachadh baistidh an aithreachais, chum maitheanais pheacanna.

5. Agus chaidh a mach d'a ionnsuidh tìr Iudea uile, agus luchd-àiteachaidh Ierusalem agus bhaisteadh leis iad uile ann an amhuinn Iordain, ag aideachadh am peacanna.

6. Agus bha Eoin air eudachadh le fionna chàmhal, agus crios leathair m'a leasruidh: agus bu bhiadh dha locuist agus mil fhiadhuich.

7. Agus shearmonaich e, ag radh, A ta neach a' teachd a'm' dhéigh a's cumhachdaiche na mise, neach nach airidh mise air cromadh sìos agus barr-iall a bhròg fhuasgladh.

8. Bhaist mise gu dearbh sibh le h-uisge: ach baistidh esan sibh leis an Spiorad Naomha.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Bha aig duine àraidh dithis mhac:

12. Agus thubhairt am *mac* a b'òige dhiubh *r'a* athair, Athair,

thoir dhomhsa a' chuid roinn a thig *orm* do *d'* mhaoin. Agus roinn e eatorra a bheathachadh.

13. Agus an déigh beagain do làithibh, chruinnich am mac a b'òige a chuid uile, agus ghabh e a thurus do dhùthaich fad air astar, agus an sin chaith e a mhaoin le beatha struidheasaich.

14. Agus an uair a chaith e a *chuid* uile, dh'éirich gorta ro mhòr san tìr sin; agus thòisich e ri bhi ann an uireasbhuidh.

15. Agus chaidh e agus cheangail se e féin ri aon do shaor-dhaoinibh na dùcha sin: agus chuir e d'a fhearann e, a bhiadhadh mhuc.

16. Agus bu mhiann leis a bhrù a lìonadh do na plaosgaibh a bha na mucan ag itheadh; oir cha d'thug neach air bith dha.

17. Agus an uair a thainig e chuige féin, thubhairt e, Cia lìon do luchd tuarasdail m'atharsa aig am bheil aran gu leoir agus r'a sheachnadh, 'nuair a ta mise a' bàsachadh le gorta?

18. Eiridh mi, agus théid mi dh'ionnsuidh m'athar, agus their mi ris, Athair, pheacaich mi 'n aghaidh fhlaithheanais, agus a'd' là-thairsa.

19. Agus cha 'n fhiu mi tuilleadh gu'n goirte do mhac-sa dhiom: dean mi mar aon do d' luchd tuarasdail.

§ 189.

Manks.

MARK i. 1-8.

1. Toshiaght sushtal Yeesey Creest, Mac Yee;

2. Myr te scruit ayns ny phadeyryn; Curmy-ner, ta mee cur my haghter roish dty eddin, dy chiartaghey dty raad kiongoyrt rhyt.

3. Coraa fer geamagh ayns yn aasagh, Kiartee-jee raad y Chiarn, jean-jee ny cassanyn echey jeeragh.

4. Ren Ean bashtey ayns yn aassagh, as preacheil bashtey arrys, son leih peccaghyn.

5. As hie magh huggey ooilley cheer Yudea as cummaltee Yerusalem, as v'ad ooilley er nyn mashtey liorish ayns awin Yordan, goaillrish nyn beccaghyn.

6. As va Ean coamrit lesh garmad jeh fynney chamel, as lesh cryss liare mysh e veeghyn: as v'eh beaghey er locustyn as mill feie:

7. As ren eh preacheil, gra, 'Ta fer s'pooaral na mish cheet my-yei, kiangley ny braagyn echey cha vel mee feeu dy chroymmey sheese as dy eaysley.

8. Ta mish dy jarroo er vashtey shiu lesh ushtey: agh bashtee eshyn shiu lesh y Spyrryd Noo.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Va daa vac ec dooinney dy row :

12. As dooyrt y fer saa rish e ayr, Ayr, cur dooys yn ayren dy chooid ta my chour. As rheynn eh e chooid orroo.

13. As laghyn ny lurg shen, hymsee yn mac saa ooilley cooidjagh as ghow eh jurnah gys cheer foddey, as ayns shen hug eh jummal er e chooid liorish baghey rouanagh.

14. As tra va ooilley baarit echey, dirree genney vooar ayns y cheer shen ; as ren eh toshiaght dy ve ayns feme.

15. As hie eh as daill eh eh-hene rish cummaltagh jeh'n cheer shen ; as hug eshyn eh magh gys ny magheryn echey dy ve son bochilley muickey.

16. As by-vian lesh e volg y lhieeney lesh ny bleaystyn va ny muckyn dy ee : as cha row dooinney erbee hug cooney da.

17. As tra v'eh er jeet huggey hene, dooyrt eh, Nagh nhimmey sharvaant failt t'ec my ayr ta nyn saie arran oc, as fooilliagh, as ta mish goll mow laccal beaghey !

18. Trog-ym orrym, as hem roym gys my ayr, as jir-ym rish, Ayr, ta mee er n'yannoo peccah noi niau, as kiongoyrt rhyt's,

19. As cha vel mee ny-sodjey feeu dy ve enmyssit dty vac : dell rhym myr rish fer jeh dty harvaantyn failt.

In all these samples allow for differences of orthography, which conceal a certain amount of likeness.

§ 190. Taken altogether the Keltic tongues form a very remarkable class. As compared with those of the Gothic stock they are marked by the following characteristics :—

The scantiness of the declension of Keltic nouns.—In Irish there is a peculiar form for the dative plural, as *cos* = *foot*, *cos-aibh* = *to feet* (*ped-ibus*) ; and beyond this there is nothing else whatever in the way of *case*, as found in the German, Latin, Greek, and other tongues. Even the isolated form in question is not found in the Welsh and Breton. Hence the Keltic tongues are pre-eminently uninflected in the way of *declension*.

§ 191.—2. *The agglutinate character of their verbal inflections.*—In Welsh the pronouns for *we*, *ye*, and *they*, are *ni*, *chwyi*, and *hwynt* respectively. In Welsh also the root = *love* is *car*. As conjugated in the plural number this is—

car-wn = *am-amus*.

car-ych = *am-atis*.

car-ant = *am-ant*.

Now the *-wn*, *-ych*, and *-ant*, of the persons of the verbs are the personal pronouns, so that the inflection is really a verb and a pronoun in a state of *agglutination*; *i. e.* in a state where the original separate existence of the two sorts of words is still manifest. This is probably the case with languages in general. The Keltic, however, has the peculiarity of exhibiting it in an unmistakable manner; showing, as it were, an inflexion in the process of formation, and (as such) exhibiting an early stage of language.

§ 192. *The system of initial mutations.*—The Keltic, as has been seen, is deficient in the ordinary means of expressing case. How does it make up for this? Even thus. The noun changes its initial letter according to its relation to the other words of the sentence. Of course this is subject to rule. As, however, I am only writing for the sake of illustrating in a general way the peculiarities of the Keltic tongues, the following table, from *Prichard's Eastern Origin of the Keltic Nations*, is sufficient.

Câr, *a kinsman.*

1. *form*, Câr agos, *a near kinsman.*

2. Ei gâr, *his kinsman.*

3. Ei châr, *her kinsman.*

4. Vy nghâr, *my kinsman*

Tâd, *a father.*

1. *form*, Tâd y plentyn, *the child's father.*

2. Ei dâd, *his father.*

3. Ei thâd, *her father.*

4. Vy nhâd, *my father.*

Pen, *a head.*

1. *form*, Pen gŵr, *the head of a man.*

2. Ei ben, *his head.*

3. Ei phen, *her head.*

4. Vy mhen, *my head.*

Gwâs, *a servant.*

1. *form*, Gwâs fydhlon, *a faithful servant.*

2. *form*. Ei wâs, *his servant*

3. Vy ngwas, *my servant.*

Duw, *a god*

1. *form*, Duw trugarog, *a merciful god.*

2. Ei dhuw, *his god.*

3. Vy nuw, *my god*

Bara, *bread.*

1. *form*, Bara cann, *white bread.*

2. Ei vara, *his bread.*

3. Vy mara, *my bread.*

Lhaw, *a hand.*

1. *form*, Lhaw wenn, *a white hand.*

2. Ei law, *his hand.*

Mam, *a mother.*

1. *form*, Mam dirion, *a tender mother.*

2. Eivam, *his mother.*

Rhwyd, *a net*.

1. *form*, Rhwyd lawn, *a full net*.

2. Ei rwyd, *his net*.
From the Erse.

Súil, *an eye*.

1. *form*, Súil.

2. A húil, *his eye*.

Sláinte, *health*.

2. *form*, Do hláinte, *your health*.

§ 193. *The ancient language of Gaul* Cambrian*.—The evidence in favour of the ancient language of Gaul being Cambrian rather than Gaelic, lies in the following facts:—

The old Gallic glosses are more Welsh than Gaelic.

a. Petorritum = *a four-wheeled carriage*, from the Welsh *peaer* = *four* and *rhod* = *a wheel*. The Gaelic for *four* is *ceathair*, and the Gaelic compound would have been different.

b. Pempedula, the *cinque-foil*, from the Welsh *pump* = *five*, and *dalen* = *a leaf*. The Gaelic for *five* is *cuig*, and the Gaelic compound would have been different.

c. Candetum = *a measure of 100 feet*, from the Welsh *cant* = *100*. The Gaelic for *a hundred* is *cead*, and the Gaelic compound would have been different.

d. Epona = *the goddess of horses*. In the Old Armorican the root *ep* = *horse*. The Gaelic for a horse is *each*.

e. The evidence from the names of geographical localities in Gaul, both ancient and modern, goes the same way: *Nantuates*, *Nantouin*, *Nanteuil*, are derived from the Welsh *nant* = *a valley*, a word unknown in Gaelic.

f. The evidence of certain French provincial words, which are Welsh and Armorican rather than Erse or Gaelic.

g. (?) An inscription on an ancient Keltic (?) tablet found at Paris, A.D. 1711, and representing a bull and three birds (cranes), is TARWOS TRI GARANOS. Now, for the first two names, the Gaelic affords as good an explanation as the Welsh; the third, however, is best explained by the Welsh.

Bull = *tarw*, Welsh; *tarbh*, Gaelic.

Three = *tri*, Welsh; *tre*, Gaelic.

Crane = *garan*, Welsh; *corr*, Gaelic.

* From a Paper of the late Mr. Garnett's in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE LANGUAGES OF THE CLASSICAL STOCK—THE ANGLO-NORMAN.

§ 194. THE Greek and Latin languages are members of the same class.

Of these, the former is only of secondary importance in English Philology.

The latter requires special notice. This is because the Norman Conquest introduced the Norman-French, and the Norman-French is of Latin origin.

From Italy, its original seat, the Latin was extended in the following chronological order ;—

1. To the Spanish Peninsula.
2. To Gaul or France, and to Helvetia or Switzerland.
3. To Dacia, *i.e.* Moldavia, and Wallachia.

§ 195.

SPECIMENS.

Italian.

MARK i. 1-8.

1. Principio del Vangelo di Gesù Cristo Figliuolo di Dio.
2. Siccome sta scritto nel profeta Isaia: Ecco che io spedisco innanzi a te il mio Angelo, il quale preparerà la tua via dinanzi a te.
3. Voce d' uno, che grida nel deserto: Preparate la via del Signore, addirizzate i suoi sentieri.
4. Fu Giovanni nel deserto a battezzare, e predicare il battesimo della penitenza per la remissione de' peccati.
5. E tutto il paese della Giudea, e tutto il popolo di Gerusalemme andava a trovarlo, e confessando i loro peccati eran battezzati da lui nel fiume Giordano.
6. E Giovanni era vestito di pelo di camello, e aveva ai fianchi

una cintola di cuoio, e mangiava locuste, e miele selvatico. E predicava, dicendo:

7. Viene dietro di me chi è più forte di me: cui non son io degno di sciogliere prostrato a terra la coreggia delle scarpe.

8. Io vi ho battezzato con acqua; ma egli vi battezzerà con lo Spirito santo.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Un uomo aveva due figliuoli,

12. E il minore di essi disse a suo padre: Padre, dammi la parte de' beni, che mi tocca. Ed egli fece tra loro le parti delle facoltà.

13. E di lì a pochi giorni, messo il tutto insieme, il figliuolo minore se ne andò in lontano paese, e ivi dissipò tutto il suo in bagordi.

14. E dato che ebbe fondo a ogni cosa, fu gran carestia in quel paese, ed egli principiò a mancare del necessario.

15. E andò, e si insinuò presso di uno de' cittadini di quel paese; il quale lo mandò alla sua villa a fare il guardiano de' porci.

16. E bramava di empire il ventre delle ghiande, che mangiavano i porci: e nissuno gliene dava.

17. Ma rientrato in se stesso, disse: Quanti mercenarj in casa di mio padre hanno del pane in abbondanza; e io qui mi muojo di fame!

18. Mi alzerò, e anderò da mio padre, e dirò a lui: Padre, ho peccato contro del cielo, e contro di te:

19. Non sono omai degno di esser chiamato tuo figlio: trattami come uno de' tuoi mercenarj.

§ 196.

Piedmontese.

MARK i. 1-8.

1. 'L prinsipi dël' evangeli dë Gesu-Crist, Fieul d'Iddiou;

2. Secound ch'a l è scrit ënt i proufeta: Eccou, i mandou 'l mè inviato dënans a toua faccia, 'l qual a tè prounterà la stra.

3. La vouss dë coul ch'ha crià ënt 'l dësert *a l è*: Prepare la stra dë Nossëgnour, spiane i so vieui.

4. Giouan a batësava ënt 'l dësert, e a predicava 'l batesim dël pentiment, për *outëni* la remissioun d'i pëcà.

5. E tut 'l pais dë la Giudea, e i abitant dë Gerusalem andasiou da chiel, e a l erou tutti batësà da chiel ënt 'l fium dël Giourdan, counfessand i so pëcà.

6. Giouan a l era vësti dë pei dë gamel, e *a l avia* una sentura

dë couram ëntourn a i so ren, e a mangiava dë crave d'i pra e d'amel sarvage.

7. E a predicava, disand: A i n'a ven un dop dë mi, ch'a l è pi poutent che mi, a 'l qual i soun nen degn dë dësgroupé, chinandë-me giù, la staca dë le scarpe.

8. *Për* mi, i l' heu batësà d'acqua; ma chiel a vë bateserà dël Spirit Sant.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Un om a l avia doui fieui;

12. E 'l pi giouvou a l ha fà-ie a so pare: Mè pare, da-me la part dël patrimoni ch'a l è mia: e chiel a l ha dividù-ie i so beni.

13. E pochi dì dop, quand 'l fieul pi giouvou a l ha avù rabastà tut, a s'è ëndà-ssëne fora ënt un pais lountan; e lì a l ha counsumà so ben vivand ënt la dësbaucia.

14. E dop ch'a l ha avù spendù tut, a i è arrivà-ie una gran carëstia ënt coul pais; e a l ha coumensà a essi ënt la miseria.

15. Anloura a s'è ëndà-ssëne via, e a s'è buttà-sse al sèrvissi d'un d'i abitant dël pais, ch'a l'ha mandà-lou ënt soue terre ën pastura d'i animai.

16. E a l avria vòulsù-sse lëvé la fam coun le pèleuie ch'i animai a mangiavou; ma nëssun a i n'a dasia.

17. Oura essend tournà ënt se stess, a l ha dit: Quanti mercenari i è-lou ënt la ca dë mè pare, ch'a l han dë pan in abbondansa, e mi i meuirou dë fam?

18. I m'aussëreu, e i ëndareu da mè pare, e i direu: Mè pare, i heu pëcà countra 'l ciel e dënans a ti;

19. E i soun pi nen degn d'essi ciamà to fieul; tratë-me parei d'un d'i to mercenari.

§ 197.

Spanish.

MARK i. 1-8.

1. Principio del Evangelio de Jesu-Christo, Hijo de Dios.

2. Así como está escrito en Isaías el Profeta: He aquí yo envío á mi angel delante de tu faz, que preparará tu camino delante de tí.

3. Voz del que clama en el desierto: Aparejad el camino del Señor: haced derechas sus sendas.

4. Estaba Juan en el desierto bautizando, y predicando el bautismo de penitencia para remision de pecados.

5. Y salia á él toda la tierra de Judéa, y todos los de Jerusalém, y eran bautizados por él en el rio Jordán, confesando sus pecados.

6. Y Juan andaba vestido de pelos de camello, y trahia un ceñidor de piel al rededor de sus lomos, y comia langostas y miel silvestre. Y predicaba, diciendo :

7. En pos de mí viene el que es mas fuerte que yo, ante el qual no soy digno de postrarme para desatar la correa de sus zapatos.

8. Yo os he bautizado en agua, mas él os bautizará en Espíritu Santo.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Un hombre tuvo dos hijos.

12. Y dixo el menor de ellos á su padre : Padre, dame la parte de la hacienda, que me toca. Y él les repartió la hacienda.

13. Y no muchos dias despues, juntando todo lo suyo el hijo menor, se fué léjos á un pais muy distante, y allí malrotó todo su haber, viviendo disolutamente.

14. Y quando todo lo hubo gastado, vino una grande hambre en aquella tierra, y él comenzó á padecer necesidad.

15. Y fué, y se arrimó á uno de los ciudadanos de aquella tierra : el qual lo envió á su cortijo á guardar puercos.

16. Y deseaba henchir su vientre de las mondaduras, que los puercos comian : y ninguno se las daba.

17. Mas volviendo sobre sí, dixo : ¡ Quántos jornaleros en la casa de mi padre tienen el pan de sobra, y yo me estoy aquí muriendo de hambre !

18. Me levantaré, é iré á mi padre, y le diré : Padre, pequé contra el cielo, y delante de tí :

19. Ya no soy digno de ser llamado hijo tuyo : hazme como á uno de tus jornaleros.

§ 198.

Catalonian.

MARK i. 1-8.

1. Principi del Evangeli de Jesu Christ, Fill de Deu :

2. Axí com está escrit en los Profetas : Veus aquí, jo envío mon ángel devant ton rostro, lo qual aparellará ton camí devant de tu.

3. Veu del que clama en lo desert : Aparellau lo camí del Senyor ; feu drets sos camins.

4. Estava Joan en lo desert batejant, y predicant lo baptisme d'arrepentiment, pera remissió dels pecats.

5. Y exía envers ell tota la terra de Judea, y tots los de Jerusalem, y eran batejats per ell en lo riu Jordá, confessant sos pecats.

6. Anava Joan vestit de pel de camell, y portava un cenyidor de

cuyro al entorn de sos lloms, y menjava llagostas y mel silvestre. Y predicava, dihent :

7. Detrás de mi ve un ques mes fort que jo, devant del qual jo no so digne de postrarme pera desferli la corretja de las sandalias.

8. Jous he batejat ab aygua; mes ell vos batejará en Esperit Sant.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Un home tenía dos fills :

12. Yl mes petit digué á *son* pare : Pare, donaume la part quem toca de vostres bens. Y ell los repartí los bens.

13. Y al cap de pochs dias, juntant lo fill menor tot lo que era seu, sen aná lluny á un país estrany, y allí dissipá tots sos bens vivint dissolutament.

14. Y quant ho hagué gastat, vingué una gran fam en aquella terra, y comensá á patir miseria.

15. Llavors sen aná, y s'arrimá á un dels ciutadans d'aquella terra, qui l'enviá á sa granja á guardar porchs.

16. Y desitjava umplir son ventre de las triaduras de quels porchs menjavan, y ningú las hi donava.

17. Emperó tornant en si, digué : ¡Quants jornalers en casa de mon pare tenen lo pa de sobras, y jo aquí m'estich morint de fam !

18. M'alsaré, y aniré á mon pare, y li diré : Pare, he pecat contral cel y contra vos ;

19. Ja no so digne de ser anomenat fill vostre : tractaume com à un de vostres jornalers.

§ 199.

Portuguese.

MARK i. 1-8.

1. Principio do Evangelho de Jesu Christo Filho de Deos.

2. Conforme está escrito no Profeta Isaías : Eis ahi envio eu o meu Anjo ante a tua face, o qual irá adiante de ti preparar-te o caminho.

3. Voz do que clama no Deserto : Preparai o caminho do Senhor, endireitai as suas varédas.

4. Estava João baptizando no Deserto, e prégando o baptismo de penitencia para remissão de peccados.

5. E sahia concorrendo a elle toda a terra de Judéa, e todos os de Jerusalem, e erão baptizados por elle no rio Jordão, confessando os seus peccados.

6. E João andava vestido de pelles de camelo, e trazia huma

cinta de couro á roda de seus lombos, e comia gafanhotos e mel silvestre. E prégava, dizendo :

7. Após de mim vem outro mais forte do que eu : onte o qual não sou digno de me prostrar para lhe desatar a corrêa dos çapatos.

8. Eu tenho-vos baptizado em agua, porém elle baptizar-vos-ha no Espirito Santo.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Hum homem teve dous filhos :

12. E disse o mais moço delles a seu pai : Pai, dá-me a parte da fazenda, que me toca. E elle repartio entre ambos a fazenda.

13. E passados não muitos dias, entrouxando tudo o que era seu, partio o filho mais moço para huma terra muito distante n'hum paiz estranho, e lá dissipou toda a sua fazenda vivendo dissolutamente.

14. E depois de ter consumido tudo, succedeo haver naquelle paiz huma grande fome, e elle começou a necessitar.

15. Retirou-se pois dalli, e accommodou-se com hum dos Cidaãos da tal terra. Este porém o mandou para hum casal seu a guardar os pórcos.

16. Aqui desejava elle encher a sua barriga de landes, das que comião os pórcos : mas ninguem lhas dava.

17. Até que tendo entrado em si, disse : Quantos jornaleiros ha em casa de meu pai, que tem pão em abundancia, e eu aqui pereço á fome !

18. Levantar-me-hei, e irei buscar a meu pai, e dir-lhe-hei : Pai, pequei contra o Ceo, e diante de ti :

19. Ja não sou digno de ser chamado teu filho : faze de mim, como de hum dos teus jornaleiros.

§ 200.

French.

MARK i. 1-8.

1. Le commencement de l'évangile de Jésus-Christ, Fils de Dieu.

2. Conformément à ce qui est écrit dans les Prophètes : Voici, j'envoie mon messenger devant ta face, qui préparera le chemin devant toi.

3. La voix de celui qui crie dans le désert *est* : Préparez le chemin du Seigneur, applanissez ses sentiers.

4. Jean baptisoit dans le désert, et prêchoit le baptême de repentance pour la rémission des péchés.

5. Et toute la Judée, et ceux de Jérusalem alloient à lui, et ils étoient tous baptisés par lui, dans le fleuve du Jourdain, en confessant leurs péchés.

6. Jean étoit vêtu de poil de chameau ; il *avoit* une ceinture de cuir autour de ses reins, et il se nourrissoit de sauterelles et de miel sauvage.

7. Et il prêchoit, en disant : Il en vient un après moi, *qui est* plus puissant que moi ; et dont je ne suis pas digne, en me baissant, de délier la courroie des souliers.

8. *Il est vrai que* je vous ai baptisés d'eau ; mais il vous baptisera du Saint-Esprit.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Un homme avoit deux fils ;

12. Et le plus jeune dit à son père : Mon père, donne-moi la part du bien qui m'appartient. Et il leur partagea ses biens.

13. Et peu de jours après, quand le plus jeune fils eut tout ramassé, il s'en alla dehors dans un pays éloigné ; et là il dissipa son bien en vivant dans la débauche.

14. Et après qu'il eut tout dépensé, une grande famine survint en ce pays-là ; et il commença d'être dans la disette.

15. Alors il s'en alla, et se mit au service d'un des habitans du pays, qui l'envoya dans ses possessions pour paître les pourceaux.

16. Et il désiroit de se rassasier des gousses que les pourceaux mangeoient ; mais personne ne lui en donnoit.

17. Or étant revenu à lui-même, il dit : Combien y a-t-il de mercenaires dans la maison de mon père, qui ont du pain en abondance, et moi je meurs de faim !

18. Je me leverai, et je m'en irai vers mon père, et je lui dirai : Mon père, j'ai péché contre le ciel et devant toi ;

19. Et je ne suis plus digne d'être appelé ton fils ; traite-moi comme l'un de tes mercenaires.

§ 201.

Vaudois.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Un hom avia dui fill ;

12. E lou pi giouvou di à so paré : Paré, doune-mé la part de bén que me vén. Et a l'i ha partagià seui bén.

13. E un poc apreü, quant lou fill pi giouvou ha agù tut rabastà, a se n'é anà fora ent un país leugn ; et laï a l ha dessipà so bén en vivant ent la desbaucia.

14. E apreü qu'a l ha agù tut despendù, una gran famina é vengù ente quel país laï ; et a l é arestà coun rén dar tout.

15. Aloura a se n'é anà, et a s'é buttà à patrour coun un di

habitant d'aquel païs, que l'ha mandà ent seui pousséss per gardâ li puerc.

16. E a desirava de rassasiâssé de le favé que li puerc maillaven ; mà gnun l'i e ne dounava pâ.

17. Manaman com a l é arvegnù à sé istéss, a l ha dit : Que de manoual l'a-y-é à la cà de mé paré, qu'han de pan fin qu'i volen, et mi meouro de fam !

18. Me léverèi, et me ne vaou peui da mé paré, et l'i diou peui : Paré, hai pecà countra lou ciel et countra tu ;

19. E siou pâ mai dégn d'èssé demandà to fill ; traite-mé com un de teui manoual.

§ 202.

Romanese.

MARK i. 1-8.

1. Lantschetta d'ilg Evangeli da Jesu Christ, Filg da Deus.

2. Sco ei stat scrit ent ils Prophets : Mire, jou tarmet mieu Mess avont tia Vista, ilg qual ven a paregiar tia Via avont tei.

3. La vusch dad ün ca clomma ent ilg dasiert : Pineit la Via d'ilg Senger, figeit sias Sendas plaunas.

4. Johannes battegiava ent ilg dasiert, a pardagava ilg Battem d'ilg milgiurament t'ilg pardunament d'ils puccaus.

5. A tut la terra da Judea mav'ora tiers el, a quels da Jerusalem ; a tuts vangivan battiai dad el, ent ilg fluss d'ilg Jordan, a cunfessavan lur puccaus.

6. Mo Johannes era vastcheus cun palingia d'Camel, a cun ünna tschinta d'Curom anturn sia Vaicha, a mangiava Salips, a Mel salvadi.

7. A pardagava, a scheva : Suenter mei ven ün ch'ei pli ferm ca jou, alg qual jou sunt bucca vangonts da mi anclinar, a snuvar ora la Coregia da sês Calzêrs.

8. Jou vus hai bein battiau cun Aua ; mo el ven a battiar vus cu'lg Spirit Soing.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Ün Hum veva dus Filgs :

12. Ad ilg juven da quels schet alg Bab : Bab, mi dai la Part da la Rauba c'aud' à mi : ad el parchè or ad els la Rauba.

13. A bucca bears Gis suenter, cur ilg Filg juven vet tut mess ansemel, scha tilà'l navent en ünna Terra dalunsch ; a lou sfiget el tut sia Rauba cun viver senza sparng.

14. A cur el vet tut sfaig, scha vangit ei en quella Terra ün grond Fumaz : ad el antschavet a ver basengs.

15. Ad el mà, a sa plidè cun ün Burgeis da quella Tetra : a quel ilg tarmatet or sin sês Beins a parchirar ils Porcs.

16. Ad el grigiava dad amplanir sieu Venter cun las Criscas ch'ìls Porcs malgiavan ; mo nagin lgi deva.

17. Mo el mà en sasez a schet : Quonts Fumelgs da mieu Bab han budonza da Paun, a jou mier d'fom ?

18. Jou vi lavar si, ad ir tier mieu Bab, a vi gir a lgi : Bab, jou hai faig puccau ancunter ilg Tschiel ad avont tei :

19. A sunt bucca pli vangonts da vangir numnaus tieu Filg : fai mei esser sco ün da tes Fumelgs.

§ 203.

Enghadin.

MARK i. 1-8.

1. Il principi dal Evangeli da Jesu Christo, Filg da Dieu,

2. Segund chi'l ais scrit n'ìls profets : Mêra, eug tramet meis Anguel avaunt tia fatscha, il qual vain à drizar tia via avaunt tai.

3. *Qua ais* üna vusch d'ün chi bragia n'il desert : Chioenschà la via dal Segner, fat sias semdas plaunas.

4. Joannes battizava n'il desert, è predgiav' il battaisem dalla poenitenza in remissiun dals puchiads.

5. E tuot il pajais dalla Judea, è quels da Jerusalem, giaivan oura pro el, è gnivan tuots battizads da d'el n'il flüm Jordan, confessand lur puchiads.

6. Mo Joannes eira vestì cun peus d'chamêl, et *haveiv'* üna tschinta d'chüram intuorn ils flanchs, è mangiava salips, è meil sulvadi.

7. E predgiava, dschant : Davo mai vain quel ch'ais plü ferm co eug, dal qual eug nun sun deng, m'inclinand, da slargiar la curaja dallas scarpas.

8. Eug s'ha battizads cun acqua ; mo quel s'battizarà cu'l Spirt sanct.

LUKE xv. 11-19.

11. Un crastian haveiva duos filgs.

12. E'l plü juven d'els diss al bap : Bap, da'm la part dalla raba ch'im tocca. E'l *bap* partit ad els la raba.

13. E pauc dids davo, il filg plü juven, haviand miss insemmel ogni chiaussa, giet el inavaunt seis viadi in pajais luntaun ; è qua dissipet el sias facultads, vivand dissolutamaing.

14. E dapo ch'el havet spais ogni chiaussa, venn üna greiva charestia in quel pajais ; tal ch'el cumanzet ad havair bsœng.

15. E giet, è s'matet cun ün dals havdaduors da quella contrada, il qual il tramatet sün seis bains, à perchürrar ils porcs.

16. Et el desiderava da s'implir il corp cun las grüscas chia'ls porcs magliavan; mo ingün nu'l dava.

17. Mo siand turnâ in sai svest, diss el: Quants mercenaris da meis bap haun paun largiamaing, et eug mour d'famm!

18. Eug vœlg star sü, è vœlg ir pro meis bap, è'l vœlg dir: Bap, eug nhai pecchiâ contr' al tschel ed avaunt tai.

19. E nun sun plü deng d'esser clamâ teis filg; fa'm sco ün da teis mercenaris.

In all these the alphabet as well as the language is of Roman origin.

§ 204. In the Danubian Principalities, however, the alphabet is of Greek origin—being based on the Slavonic of Servia.

Transliterated into the Roman character, the Wallachian, or *Rumango*, as it is properly called, runs thus:—

LUKE xv. 11–19.

11. Un om avea doi fec'orî.

12. Shi a zis c'el mai tinr din eî tatluî su: tat, dmî partea c'e mi se kade de avucie: shi de a imprcit lor avuciea.

13. Shi nu dup multe zile, adunint toate fec'orul c'el mai tinr, s'a dus intr 'o car departe, shi akolo a rsipit toat avuciea ca, viecuind intr dezmiêrdri.

14. Shi keltuind el toate, c'a fkut foamete mare intr' ac'ea car; shi el a inc'eput a se lipsi.

15. Shi mergina c'a lipit de unul din lkuitoriî criî ac'eia; si 'l a trimis pre el la carinide sale c pask porc'iî.

16. Shi doria c 'shî sature pintec'ele sũ de roshkobeles c'e minka porc'iî; shi nimirî nu î da lui.

17. Iar viind intru sine, a zis: kicî argaciî ai tatluî mieu sint indestulaci de piîne, iar eũ pîeiũ de foame.

18. Skula-m-voiũ, shi m' voiũ duc'e la tata mieũ, shi voiũ zic'e lui:

19. Tat, greshit-am la c'er shi inaintea ta, shi nu mai sint vrednik a m kema fiul tũ: fm ka pre unul din argaciî tî.

Such is a general view of the Languages derived from the Latin.

§ 205. Of these the French requires to be more minutely exhibited.

Between the provincial French of the north and the provincial French of the south, there is a difference, at the present day, at least of dialect, and perhaps of language. This is shown by the following specimens: the first from the canton of Arras, on the confines of Flanders; the second from the department of Var, in Provence.

LUKE xv. 11-14.

11. Ain homme avoüait deex garchéons.

12. L'pus jone dit a sain père, " Main père, baillé m'chou qui doüo me 'r'v'nir ed vous bien," et leu père leu partit sain bien.

13. Ain n'sais yur, tro, quate, chéon jours après l'pus tiò d'cnés déeux éféans oyant r'cuéllé tout s'n' héritt'main, s'ot' ainvoye dains nâin pahis gramain loüon, dú qu'il échilla tout s'n' argint ain fageant l'braingand dains chés cabarets.

14. Abord qu'il o eu tout bu, tout mié et tout drélé, il o v'nu adonc dains ch' pahis lo ainn' famaine cruëlle, et i c'mainchouait d'avoir fon-ye d' pon-ye.

THE SAME.

11. Un homé avié dous enfans.

12. Lou plus pichoun diguét a son päiré, " Moun päiré, dounas mi ce què mi reven de vouastré ben;" lou pairé faguet lou partagé de tout ce que poussédavo.

13. Paou de jours après, lou pichoun vendét tout se què soun päiré il avié desamparat, et s'en anét dins un päis fourco luench, ounté dissipét tout soun ben en debaUCHO.

14. Quand aguét tou arcaba, uno grosso famino arribet dins aqueou päis et, leou, si veguét reduch à la derniero misèro.

§ 206. Practically speaking, although in the central parts of France the Northern and Southern dialects melt each into the other, the Loire may be considered as a line of demarcation between two languages; the term Language being employed because, in the Middle Ages, whatever may be their real difference, the Northern Tongue and the Southern Tongue were dealt with not as separate dialects, but as distinct Languages—the Southern being called Provençal, the Northern Norman-French.

Of these two Languages (for so they will in the following pages be called, for the sake of convenience) the Southern or

Provençal approaches the dialects of Spain; the Valencian of Spain and the Catalanian of Spain being Provençal rather than standard Spanish or Castilian.

The Southern French is sometimes called the *Langue d'Oc*, and sometimes the *Limousin*.

It is in the Southern French (*Provençal*, *Langue d'Oc*, or *Limousin*) that we have the following specimen; viz. the Oath of Ludwig, sworn A.D. 842.

The Oath of the King.

Pro Deo amur et pro Xristian poblo et nostro commun salvament, d'ist di en avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo, et in ajudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dist, in o quid il mi altresi fazet: et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai uui, meon vol, cist meon fradre Karl in damno sit.

The Oath of the People.

Si Loduuigs sacrament, que son fradre Karlo jurat, conservat; et Karlus, meos sendra, de suo part non lo stanit; si io returnar non l'int pois, ne io, ne neuls cui eo returnar int pois, in nulla ajudha contra Lodhuwig nun li iver.

The same in Modern French.

Pour de Dieu l'amour et pour du Chrétien peuple et le notre commun salut, de ce jour en avant, en quant que Dieu savoir et pouvoir me donne, assurément sauverai moi ce mon frère Charles, et en aide, et en chacune chose, ainsi comme homme par droit son frère sauver doit, en cela que lui à moi pareillement fera: et avec Lothaire nul traité ne onques prendrai qui, à mon vouloir, à ce mien frère Charles en dommage soit.

* * * * *

Si Louis le serment, qu'à son frère Charles il jure, conserve; Charles, mon seigneur, de sa part ne le maintient; si je détourner ne l'en puis, ni moi, ne nul que je détourner en puis, en nulle aide contre Louis ne lui irai.

§ 207. The Norman-French, spoken from the Loire to the confines of Flanders, and called also the *Langue d'Oyl*, differed from the *Provençal* in (amongst others) the following circumstances.

1st. It was of later origin; the southern parts of Gaul having been colonised at an early period by the Romans.

2nd. It was in geographical contact, not with the allied languages of Spain, but with the Gothic tongues of Germany and Holland.

It is the Norman-French that most especially bears upon the history of the English language.

The proportion of the original Keltic in the present languages of France has still to be determined. It may, however, be safely asserted, that, at a certain epoch between the first and fifth centuries, the language of Gaul was more Roman and less Keltic than that of Britain.

SPECIMEN.

From the Anglo-Norman Poem of Charlemagne.

Un jur fu Karléun al Seint-Denis muster,
 Reout prise sa corune, en croiz seignat sun chef,
 E ad ceinte sa espée: li pons fud d'or mer.
 Dux i out e demeines e baruns e chevalers.
 Li emperères reguardet la reine sa muillers.
 Ele fut ben corunée al plus bel e as meuz.
 Il la prist par le poin desuz un oliver,
 De sa pleine parole la prist à reisuner:
 "Dame, véistes unkes hume nul de desuz ceil
 Tant ben séist espée ne la corone el chef?
 Uncore cunquerrei-jo citez ot mun espee." *Uncore*
 Cele ne fud pas sage, folement respondeit:
 "Emperere," dist-ele, trop vus poez preiser.
 "Uncore en sa-jo un ki plus se fait leger,
 Quant il porte corune entre ses chevalers;
 Kaunt il met sur sa teste, plus belement lui set "

Literal Translation.

1.

LATIN.

Unum diurnum fuit Carolus, ad illud Sancti Dionysii monasterium,

Re-habebat prehensam suam coronam, in cruce signatum suum caput,

Et habebat cinctam suam spadam; ille pugnus fuit de auro mero,

Duces ibi habebat, et dominos, et barones, et caballarios.

Ille imperator contemplatus est illam reginam suam mulierem;

Illa fuit bene coronata ad plus bellum et ad melius.

Ille illamprehendit per illum pugnum de sub unam olivam,

De sua plena parabola illamprehendit ad ratiocinari,

Domina, vidisti unquam hominem nullum de sub cœlum;

Jam bene sedet spada nec illa corona illud caput;

Ad usque horam conqueram ego civitates ad meam spadam.

Illa ne fuit passum sagax,—stulte respondet.

“Imperator,” dixit illa, “nimis vos potestis vos pretiare;”

Ad-usque-horam sapio-ego unum qui plus se facit levem,

Quando ille portat coronam inter suos caballeros,

Quando ille mittit super suam testam plus belle ille sedet.

2.

ENGLISH.

One day was Charlemagne at St. Denis' minster,

Had taken his crown, in-cross marked (*signed*) his head

And had girt his sword; the hilt was of gold pure (*mere*),

Dukes there he had, and lords (*domines* or *dons*) and barons, and
cavaliers,

The emperor looked-at (*regarded*) the queen his wife;

She was well crowned, at the most beautiful and at the best.

He her took by the fist under an olive-tree;

Of his full word (*parole*), he took to converse (*reason with*).

“Dame, saw you ever man none below the heaven

So well sits sword nor crown his head.

Yet will I conquer cities with my sword.”

She was not wise foolishly answered:

“Emperor,” said she, “too much you may praise yourself;

Yet know I one who makes himself more light

When he carries crown amongst chevaliers;

When he places on his head more beautifully him sits.”

§ 208. In the Northern French we must recognise not only a Keltic and a Classical, but also a Gothic element: since Clovis and Charlemagne were no Frenchmen, but Germans.

In the Northern French of *Normandy* there is a second

Gothic element, viz. a Scandinavian element. By this the proper Northern French underwent a further modification.

Until the time of the Scandinavians or Northmen, the present province of Normandy was called Neustria. Three generations before the Norman Conquest, a Norwegian captain, named in his own country *Rolf*, and in France *Rollo*, or *Rou*, settled upon the coast of Normandy. What Hengist and the Germans were in Britain, Rollo and his Scandinavians were in France. The province took from them its name of Normandy. The *Norwegian* element in the Norman-French has yet to be determined. Respecting it, however, the following statements may, even in the present state of the question, be made:—

1st. That a Norse dialect was spoken in Normandy at Bayeux, some time after the battle of Hastings.

2nd. That William the Conqueror understood the Norse language.

3rd. That the names Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney are as truly Norse names as Orkney and Shetland.

The *Southern* division of the French cannot be compared with the Northern for its influence on the English. In the reign, however, of Henry II. the marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine encouraged it.

CHAPTER XXX.

HISTORICAL AND LOGICAL ELEMENTS OF THE ENGLISH
LANGUAGE.

§ 209. THE Keltic elements of the present English fall into five classes.

1. Those that are of late introduction, and cannot be called original and constituent parts of the language. Such are (amongst others) the words *flannel*, *crowd* (a fiddle), from the British; and *kerne* an Irish foot-soldier), *galore* (enough), *tartan*, *plaid*, &c., from the Gaelic branch.

2. Those that (according to the current opinions) are common to both the Keltic and Gothic stocks, and are Indo-European rather than either Welsh, or Gaelic, or Saxon. Such (amongst others) are *brother*, *mother*, in Keltic *brathair*, *mathair*; the numerals, &c.

3. Those that have come to us from the Keltic, but have come to us through the medium of another language. Such are *druid* and *bard*, whose *immediate* source is not the Keltic but the Latin.

4. Keltic elements of the Anglo-Norman, introduced into England after the Conquest, and occurring in that language as remains of the original Keltic of Gaul.

5. Those that have been retained from the original Keltic of the island, and which form genuine constituents of our language. These fall into three subdivisions.

a. Proper names—generally of geographical localities; as *the Thames*, *Kent*, &c.

b. Common names retained in the provincial dialects of England, but not retained in the current language; as *gwethall* = *household stuff*, and *gwlanen* = *flannel* in Herefordshire.

c. Common names retained in the current language.—The following list is Mr. Garnett's:—

<i>Welsh.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Welsh.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Basgawd	<i>Basket.</i>	Greidell	<i>Grid, in Gridiron.</i>
Berfa	<i>Barrow</i>	Gruall	<i>Gruel.</i>
Botwm	<i>Button.</i>	Gwald(hem, border)	} <i>Welt.</i>
Bràn	<i>Bran.</i>	Gwiced (little door)	
Clwt	<i>Clout, Rag.</i>		} <i>Wicket.</i>
Crochan	<i>Crock, Crockery.</i>		
Crog	<i>Crook, Hook.</i>	Gwn	<i>Gown.</i>
Cwch	<i>Cock, in Cock-boat.</i>	Gwyfr	<i>Wire.</i>
Cwysed	<i>Gusset.</i>	Masg (stitch in netting)	} <i>Mesh.</i>
Cyl, Cyln	{ <i>Kiln (Kill, provincial.)</i>	Mattog	
Dantaeth	<i>Dainty.</i>	Mop	<i>Mop.</i>
Darn	<i>Darn.</i>	Rhail (fence)	} <i>Rail.</i>
Deentur	{ <i>Tenter, in Tenter-hook.</i>	Rhasg (slice)	
Fflaim	{ <i>Fleam, Cattle-lancet.</i>	Rhuwch	<i>Rug.</i>
Fflaw	<i>Flaw.</i>	Sawduriaw	<i>Solder.</i>
Ffynnell (air-hole)	} <i>Funnel.</i>	Syth (glue)	<i>Size.</i>
Gefyn (fetter)		Tacl	<i>Tackle.</i>

§ 210. *Latin of the First Period.*—Of the Latin introduced by Cæsar and his successors, the few words remaining are those that relate to military affairs; viz. *street* (*strata*); *coln* (as in *Lincoln* = *Lindi colonia*); *cest* (as in *Gloucester* = *glevæ castra*) from *castra*. The Latin words introduced between the time of Cæsar and Hengist may be called the *Latin of the first period*, or the *Latin of the Keltic period*.

§ 211. *The Anglo-Saxon.*—This is not noticed here, because from being the staple of the present language it is more or less the subject of the book throughout.

§ 212. *The Danish, or Norse.*—The pirates that pillaged Britain, under the name of Danes, were not exclusively the inhabitants of Denmark. Of the three Scandinavian nations,

the Swedes took the least share, the Norwegians the greatest in these invasions. Not that the Swedes were less piratical, but that they robbed elsewhere,—in Russia, for instance, and in Finland.

The language of the three nations was the same; the differences being differences of dialect. It was that which is now spoken in Iceland, having been once common to Scandinavia and Denmark. Whether this was aboriginal in *Denmark* is uncertain. In *Scandinavia* it was imported; the tongue that it supplanted having been, in all probability, the mother-tongue of the present Laplandic.

The Danish that became incorporated with our language, under the reign of Canute and his sons, may be called the direct Danish (Norse or Scandinavian) element, in contradistinction to the indirect Danish of § 214.

The determination of the amount of Danish in English is difficult. It is not difficult to prove a word *Scandinavian*. We must also show that it is not German. A few years back the current opinion was against the doctrine that there was much Danish in England. At present, the tendency is rather the other way. The following facts are from Mr. Garnett.—*Phil. Trans.* vol. i.

1. The Saxon name of the present town of *Whitby* in Yorkshire was *Streoneshalch*. The present name *Whitby*, *Hvitby*, or *White-town*, is Danish.

2. The Saxon name of the capital of Derbyshire was *North-weortheg*. The present name is Danish.

3. The termination *-by* = *town* is Norse.

4. On a monument in Aldburg Church, Holderness, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, referred to the age of Edward the Confessor, is found the following inscription:—

Ulf het aræran cyrice for *hanum* and for Gunthara saula.

“*Ulf* bid rear the church for him and for the soul of Gunthar.”

Now, in this inscription, *Ulf*, in opposition to the Anglo-Saxon *wulf*, is a Norse form; whilst *hanum* is a Norse dative, and by no means an Anglo-Saxon one.—Old Norse *hanum*, Swedish *honom*.

5. The use of *at* for *to* as the sign of the infinitive mood is Norse, not Saxon. It is the regular prefix in Icelandic, Danish, Swedish, and Feroic. It is also found in the northern dialects of the Old English, and in the particular dialect of Westmoreland at the present day.

6. The use of *sum* for *as*; e.g. *swa sum*, we forgive oure detturs.

7. Isolated words in the northern dialects are Norse rather than Saxon.

<i>Provincial.</i>	<i>Common Dialect.</i>	<i>Norse.</i>
Braid	<i>Resemble</i>	Bråas, <i>Swed.</i>
Eldin	<i>Firing</i>	Eld, <i>Dan.</i>
Force	<i>Waterfall</i>	Fors, <i>D. Swed.</i>
Gar	<i>Make</i>	Göra, <i>Swed.</i>
Gill	<i>Ravine</i>	Gil, <i>Iceland.</i>
Greet	<i>Weep</i>	Grata, <i>Iceland.</i>
Ket	<i>Carrion</i>	Kiöd = flesh, <i>Dan.</i>
Lait	<i>Seek</i>	Lede, <i>Dan.</i>
Lathe	<i>Barn</i>	Lade, <i>Dan.</i>
Lile	<i>Little</i>	Lille, <i>Dan.</i>

§ 213. *Roman of the Second Period.*—Of the Latin introduced under the Christianised Saxon sovereigns, many words are extant. They relate chiefly to ecclesiastical matters, just as the Latin of the Keltic period bore upon military affairs.—*Mynster*, a minster, *monasterium*; *portic*, a porch, *porticus*; *cluster*, a cloister, *claustrum*; *munuc*, a monk, *monachus*; *bisceop*, a bishop, *episcopus*; *arcebisceop*, archbishop, *archiepiscopus*; *sanct*, a saint, *sanctus*; *profost*, a provost, *propositus*; *pall*, a pall, *pallium*; *calic*, a chalice, *calix*; *candel*, a candle, *candela*; *psalter*, a psalter, *psalterium*; *mæsse*, a mass, *missa*; *pistel*, an epistle, *epistola*; *prædic-ian*, to preach, *prædicare*; *prof-ian*, to prove, *probare*.

The following are the names of foreign plants and animals:—*câmall*, a camel, *camelus*; *ylp*, elephant, *elephas*; *fic-beam*, fig-tree, *ficus*; *feferfuge*, feverfew, *febrifuga*; *peter-selige*, parsley, *petroselinum*.

Others are the names of articles of foreign origin, as *pipor*,

pepper, *piper* ; *purpur*, purple, *purpura* ; *pumicstan*, pumice-stone, *pumex*.

The above-given list is from Guest's *English Rhythms* (b. iii. c. 3). It constitutes that portion of the elements of our language which may be called the Latin of the second, or Saxon period.

§ 214. *The Anglo-Norman element*.—For practical purposes we may say that the French or Anglo-Norman element appeared in our language after the battle of Hastings, A.D. 1066.

Previous, however, to that period we find notices of intercourse between the two countries.

1. The residence in England of Louis Outremer.

2. Ethelred II. married Emma, daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy, and the two children were sent to Normandy for education.

3. Edward the Confessor is particularly stated to have encouraged French manners and the French language in England.

4. Ingulphus of Croydon speaks of his own knowledge of French.

5. Harold passed some time in Normandy.

6. The French article *la*, in the term *la Drove*, occurs in a deed of A.D. 975.—See Ranouard, *Journal des Savans*, 1830.

The chief Anglo-Norman elements of our language are the terms connected with the feudal system, the terms relating to war and chivalry, and a great portion of the law terms—*duke, count, baron, villain, service, chivalry, warrant, esquire, challenge, domain, &c.*

When we remember that the word *Norman* means *man of the north*, that it is a *Scandinavian*, and *not a French* word, that it originated in the invasions of the followers of Rollo and other *Norwegians*, and that just as part of England was overrun by Pagan buccaneers called *Danes*, part of France was occupied by similar *Northmen*, we see the likelihood of certain Norse words finding their way into the French language, where they would be superadded to its original Keltic and Roman elements.

The extent to which this is actually the case has only been partially investigated. It is certain, however, that some French words are Norse or Scandinavian. Such, for instance, are several *names of geographical localities* either near the sea, or the river Seine; in other words, within that tract which was most especially occupied by the invaders. As is to be expected from the genius of the French language, these words are considerably altered in form. Thus—

NORSE.	ENGLISH.	FRENCH.
Toft	Toft	Tot
Beck	Beck	Bec
Flöt	Fleet*	Fleur, &c.

and in these shapes they appear in the Norman names *Yvetot*, *Caudebec*, and *Harfleur*, &c.

Now any words thus introduced from the Norse of Scandinavia into the French of Normandy might, by the Norman Conquest of England, be carried further, and so find their way into the English.

In such a case, they would constitute its *indirect* Scandinavian element.

A list of these words has not been made; indeed the question requires far more investigation than it has met with. The names, however, of the islands *Guerns-ey*, *Jers-ey*, and *Aldern-ey*, are certainly of the kind in question—since the *-ey*, meaning *island*, is the same as the *-ey* in *Orkn-ey*, and is the Norse rather than the Saxon form.

Latin of the third period.—This means the Latin which was introduced between the battle of Hastings and the revival of Literature. It chiefly originated in the cloister, in the universities, and, to a certain extent, in the courts of law. It must be distinguished from the *indirect* Latin introduced as part and parcel of the Anglo-Norman. It has yet to be accurately analysed.

§ 215. *Latin of the Fourth Period.*—This means the Latin which has been introduced between the revival of literature and the present time. It has originated in the writings of

* Meaning *ditch*.

learned men in general, and is distinguished from that of the previous periods by—

1. Being less altered in form :
2. Preserving, with substantives, in many cases its original inflections ; *axis, axes ; basis, bases* :
3. Relating to objects and ideas for which the increase of the range of science in general has required a nomenclature.

§ 216. *Greek*.—Words derived *directly* from the Greek are in the same predicament as the Latin of the third period—*phænomenon, phænomena ; criterion, criteria, &c.* ; words which are only *indirectly* of Greek origin, being considered to belong to the language from which they were immediately introduced into the English. Such are *deacon, priest, &c.*, introduced through the Latin. Hence a word like *church* proves no more in regard to a Greek element in English, than the word *abbot* proves in respect to a Syrian one.

The Latin of the fourth period and the Greek agree in retaining, in many cases, original inflexions rather than adopting the English ones ; in other words, they agree in being but *imperfectly incorporated*. The phænomenon of imperfect incorporation is reducible to the following rules :—

1. That it has a direct ratio to the date of the introduction, *i. e.* the more recent the word the more likely it is to retain its original inflexion.
2. That it has a relation to the number of meanings belonging to the words : thus, when a single word has two meanings, the original inflexion expresses one, the English inflexion another—*genius, genii, (spirits), geniuses (men of genius)*.
3. That it occurs with substantives only, and that only in the expression of number. Thus, although the plural of substantives like *axis* and *genius* are Latin, the possessive cases are English. So also are the degrees of comparison for adjectives like *circular*, and the tenses, &c., for verbs like *perambulate*.

§ 217. The following is a list of the chief Latin substantives introduced during the latter part of the fourth period, and preserving the *Latin* plural forms—

FIRST CLASS.

Words wherein the Latin Plural is the same as the Latin Singular.

(a) Sing.	Plur.	(b) Sing.	Plur.
Apparatus	apparatus	Caries	caries
Hiatus	hiatus	Congeries	congeries
Impetus	impetus	Series	series
		Species	species
		Superficies	superficies.

SECOND CLASS.

Words wherein the Latin Plural is formed from the Latin Singular by changing the last Syllable.

(a).—Where the Singular termination -a is changed in the Plural into -æ:—

Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
Formula	formulæ	Nebula	nebulæ
Lamina	laminæ	Scoria	scoriæ.
Larva	larvæ		

(b).—Where the Singular termination -us is changed in the Plural into -i:—

Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
Calculus	calculi	Polypus	polypi
Colossus	colossi	Radius	radii
Convolvulus	convolvuli	Ranunculus	ranunculi
Focus	foci	Sarcophagus	sarcophagi
Genius	genii	Schirrhus	schirrhi
Magus	magi	Stimulus	stimuli
Nautilus	nautili	Tumulus	tumuli.
Œsophagus	œsophagi		

(c).—Where the Singular termination -um is changed in the Plural into -a:—

Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
Animalculum	animacula	Effluvium	effluvia
Arcanum	arcana	Emporium	emporia
Collyrium	collyria	Encomium	encomia
Datum	data	Erratum	errata
Desideratum	desiderata	Gymnasium	gymnasia

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>		<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Lixivium	lixivia		Premium	premia
Lustrum	lustra		Scholium	scholia
Mausoleum	mausolea		Spectrum	spectra
Medium	media		Speculum	specula
Memorandum	memoranda		Stratum	strata
Menstruum	menstrua		Succedaneum	succedanea.
Momentum	momenta			

(d.)—Where the Singular termination *-is* is changed in the Plural into *-es* :—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>		<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Amanuensis	amanuenses		Ellipsis	ellipses
Analysis	analyses		Emphasis	emphases
Antithesis	antitheses		Hypothesis	hypotheses
Axis	axes		Oasis	oases
Basis	bases		Parenthesis	parentheses
Crisis	crises		Synthesis	syntheses
Diæresis	diæreses		Thesis	theses.

THIRD CLASS.

Words wherein the Plural is formed by inserting *-e* between the last two sounds of the Singular, so that the former number always contains a Syllable more than the latter :—

<i>Sing.</i>			<i>Plur.</i>
Apex	sounded	apec-s	apices
Appendix	—	appendic-s	appendices
Calix	—	calic-s	calices
Cicatrix	—	cicatric-s	cicatrices
Helix	—	helic-s	helices
Index	—	indec-s	indices
Radix	—	radic-s	radices
Vertex	—	vertec-s	vertices
Vortex	—	vortec-s	vortices.

In all these words the *c* of the singular number is sounded as *k*, of the plural as *s*.

§ 218. The following is a list of the chief Greek substantives lately introduced, and preserving the *Greek* plural forms :—

FIRST CLASS.

Words where the Singular termination -on is changed in the Plural into -a:—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Aphelion	aphelia	Criterion	criteria
Perihelion	perihelia	Ephemeron	ephemera
Automaton	automata	Phænomenon	phænomena.

SECOND CLASS.

Words where the Plural is formed by adding either -es or -a, but where the Singular either rejects or changes the last letter of the original root.

Plurals in -es:—

<i>Original root.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>
Apsid-	apsides	apsis
Cantharid-	cantharides	cantharis
Chrysalid-	chrysalides	chrysalis
Ephemerid-	ephemerides	ephemeris
Tripod-	tripodes	tripos.

Plurals in -a:—

<i>Original root.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>
Dogmat-	dogmata	dogma
Lemmat-	lemmata	lemma
Miasmat-	miasmata	miasma.*

§ 219. *Miscellaneous elements.*—Of miscellaneous elements we have two sorts; those that are incorporated in our language, and are currently understood (*e.g.* the Spanish word *sherry*, the Arabic word *alkali*, and the Persian word *turban*), and those that, even amongst the educated, are considered strangers. Of this latter kind (amongst many others) are the Oriental words *humum*, *kaftan*, *gul*, &c.

Of the currently understood miscellaneous elements of the English language, the most important are from the French;

* This list is taken from Smart's valuable and logical English Grammar.

some of which agree with those of the Latin of the fourth period, and the Greek in preserving the *French* plural forms—as *beau, beaux, billet-doux*.

Italian.—Some words of Italian origin do the same: as *virtuoso, virtuosi*.

Hebrew.—The Hebrew words, *cherub* and *seraph* do the same; the form *cherub-im*, and *seraph-im*, being not only plurals, but Hebrew plurals.

Beyond the words derived from these five languages, none form their plurals other than after the English method, *i. e.* in *-s*: as *waltzes*, from the *German* word *waltz*.

§ 220. The extent to which a language, which, like the English, at one and the same time requires names for many objects, comes in contact with the tongues of half the world, and has, moreover, a great power of incorporating foreign elements, derives fresh words from varied sources, may be seen, from the following incomplete notice of the languages which have, in different degrees, supplied it with new terms.

Arabic.—Admiral, alchemist, alchemy, alcohol, alcove, alembic, algebra, alkali, assassin, from a paper of Mr. Crawford, read at the British Association, 1849.

Persian.—Turban, caravan, dervise, &c.—*Ditto*.

Turkish.—Coffee, bashaw, divan, scimitar, janisary, &c.—*Ditto*.

Hindu languages.—Calico, chintz, cowrie, curry, lac, muslin, toddy, &c.—*Ditto*.

Chinese.—Tea, bohea, congou, hyson, soy, nankin, &c.—*Ditto*.

Malay.—Bantam (fowl), gamboge, rattan, sago, shaddock.—*Ditto*.

Polynesian.—Taboo, tattoo.—*Ditto*.

Tungusian, or some similar Siberian language.—Mammoth, the bones of which are chiefly from the banks of the Lena.

North-American Indian.—Squaw, wigwam, pemmican.

Peruvian.—Charki = prepared meat; whence *jerked* beef.

Caribbean.—Hammock.

Ancient Carian.—Mausoleum.

§ 221. A distinction has been drawn between the *direct*

and *indirect* elements of a language, the latter leading to the *ultimate origin* of words.

Thus a word borrowed into the English from the French, might have been borrowed into the French from the Latin, into the Latin from the Greek, into the Greek from the Persian, &c., and so *ad infinitum*.

The investigation of this is a matter of literary curiosity rather than any important branch of philology.

The ultimate known origin of many common words sometimes goes back to a great date, and points to extinct languages:—

Ancient Nubian (?)—Barbarous.

Ancient Egyptian.—Ammonia.

Ancient Syrian.—Cyder.

Ancient Lydian.—Mæander.

Ancient Persian.—Paradise.

§ 222. Again, a word from a given language may be introduced by more lines than one, or it may be introduced twice over; once at an earlier, and again at a later period. In such a case its form will, most probably, vary; and, what is more, its meaning as well. Words of this sort may be called *di-morphic*, their *di-morphism* having originated in one of two reasons—a difference of channel, or a difference of date. Instances of the first are, *syrup*, *sherbet*, and *shrub*, all originally from the *Arabic*, *srb*; but introduced differently, viz. the first through the Latin, the second through the Persian, and the third through the Hindoo. Instances of the second are words like *minster* introduced during the Anglo-Saxon, as contrasted with *monastery* introduced during the Anglo-Norman, period. By the proper application of these processes, we account for words so different in their present forms, yet so identical in origin, as *priest* and *presbyter*, *episcopal* and *bishop*, &c.

§ 223. *Distinction*.—The history of the languages that have been spoken in a particular country is a different subject from the history of a particular language. The history of the languages that have been spoken in the United States of America is the history of certain *Indian* languages. The history of the

languages of the United States is the history of a German language.

§ 224. *Words of foreign simulating a vernacular origin.*—These may occur in any mixed language whatever; they occur, however, oftener in the English than in any other.

Let a word be introduced from a foreign language—let it have some resemblance in sound to a real English one: lastly, let the meanings of the two words be not absolutely incompatible. We may then have a word of foreign origin taking the appearance of an English one. Such, amongst others, are *beef-eater*, from *bœuffetier*; *sparrow-grass*, *asparagus*; *Shot-over*, *Chateau vert*; * *Jerusalem*, *Girasole*; † *Spanish beef-eater*, *spina bifida*; *periwig*, *peruke*; *runagate*, *renegade*; *lutestring*, *lustrino*; ‡ *Oyes*, *O yez!* *ancient*, *ensign*.§

Dog-cheap.—This has nothing to do with *dogs*. The first syllable is *god* = *good* transposed, and the second the *ch-p* in *chapman* (= *merchant*) *cheap*, and *East-cheap*. In Sir J. Mandeville, we find *god-kepe* = *good bargain*.

Sky-larking.—Nothing to do with *larks* of any sort; still less the particular species, *alauda arvensis*. The word improperly spelt *l-a-r-k*, and banished to the slang regions of the English language, is the Anglo-Saxon *lúc* = *game*, or *sport*; wherein the *a* is sounded as in *father* (not as in *farther*). *Lek* = *game*, in the present Scandinavian languages.

Zachary Macaulay = *Zumalacarregui*; *Billy Ruffian* = *Bellerophon*; *Sir Roger Dowlass* = *Surajah Dowlah*, although so limited to the common soldiers, and sailors who first used them, as to be exploded vulgarisms rather than integral parts of the language, are examples of the same tendency towards the irregular accommodation of misunderstood foreign terms.

Birdbolt.—An incorrect name for the *gadus lota*, or *eel-pout*, and a transformation of *barbote*.

Whistle-fish.—The same for *gadus mustela*, or *weazel-cod*.

Liquorice = *glycyrrhiza*.

* As in *Shotover Hill*, near Oxford.

† As in *Jerusalem artichoke*.

‡ A sort of silk.

§ *Ancient Cassio*—"Othello."

Wormwood = *weremuth*, is an instance of a word from the same language, in an antiquated shape, being equally transformed with a word of really foreign origin.

§ 225. Sometimes the transformation of the *name* has engendered a change in the object to which it applies, or, at least, has evolved new ideas in connection with it. How easy for a person who used the words *beef-eater*, *sparrow-grass*, or *Jerusalem*, to believe that the officers designated by the former either eat or used to eat more beef than other people; that the second word was the name for a *grass* or herb of which *sparrows* were fond; and that *Jerusalem* artichokes came from Palestine.

I have heard that Little John *shot over* Shotover Hill. Here the confusion originates a fiction.

Sometimes a false spirit of accommodation affects the *spelling*. Hence, *frontispiece*, *sovereign*, *colleague*, *lanthorn*, from *frontispicium*, *sovrano*, *collega*, *lanterna*.

Language is affected by false etymologies as well as by true ones.

§ 226. The *logical* analysis of a language is one thing, the historical analysis another.

Let the present language of England (for illustration's sake only) consist of 40,000 words. Of these let 30,000 be Anglo-Saxon, 5,000 Anglo-Norman, 100 Keltic, 10 Latin of the first, 20 Latin of the second, and 30 Latin of the third period, 50 Scandinavian, and the rest miscellaneous. In this case the language is considered according to the historical origin of the words that compose it, and the analysis (or, if the process be reversed, the synthesis) is an historical analysis.

But it is very evident that the English, or any other language, is capable of being contemplated in another view, and that the same number of words may be very differently classified. Instead of arranging them according to the languages whence they are derived, let them be disposed according to the meanings that they convey. Let it be said, for instance, that out of 40,000 words, 10,000 are the names of natural objects, that 1000 denote abstract ideas, that 1000 relate to warfare, 1000 to church matters, 500 to points of chivalry, 1000 to

agriculture, and so on through the whole. In this case the analysis (or, if the process be reversed, the synthesis) is not historical but logical; the words being classed not according to their origin, but according to their meaning.

Now the logical and historical analyses of a language generally in some degree coincide, as may be seen by noticing the kind of words introduced from the Anglo-Norman, or the Arabic. The former are chiefly legal, the latter chemical and astronomical.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ARE THERE SARMATIAN ELEMENTS IN ENGLISH ?

§ 227. *Sarmatian* is a generic name for the *Lithuanic* and *Slavonic* languages collectively.

Did any members of either of these divisions either accompany the Angles, or effect independent settlements ?

They may easily have done so, inasmuch as we have seen that Mecklenburg, Lauenburg, and parts of Holstein were Slavonic, to say nothing of other parts of Germany.

The actual Slavonic names we meet with, over and above that of the *Werini*, of whom so much has already been said, are the following :—

1. *The Polabi*.—From *po* = *on*, and *Labe* = *the Elbe*. Name Slavonic. Germanised by the addition of the termination *-ing*, and so become *Po-lab-ing-i*; just as in *Kent* we find the *Kent-ing-s*.—Conterminous with the Nordalbingian *Stormarii*, from whom they are divided by the river *Bille*, a small confluent of the Elbe. Capital Ratzeburg.—D. N.

2. *The Wagrians*.—North of the Polabi, and divided from the Danes by the Eyder, from the Non-Danish Nordalbingians by the Trave—Capital Oldenburg. The Isle of Femern was Wagrian.

3. *The Obotriti*, written also *Obotritæ*, *Abotriti*, *Abotridi*; *Apodritæ*, *Abatareni*, *Apdrede*, *Afdrege*, and, for the sake of distinction from a people of the same name, *Nort-Obtrezi*, occupants of the western part of Mecklenburg, and extended as far east as the Warnow, as far south as Schwerin.—The Obotrites were allies of the Franks against the Saxons, and after the defeat and partial removal of the latter, were transplanted to some of their localities.—“*Saxones transtulit*” (*i. e.* Charle-

magne) "in Franciam, et pagos transalbianos Abodritis dedit. —*Eginhart Ann.* A. D. 804.—D. N.

4. *The Lini*.—Slavonians on the left bank of the Elbe, and the first met with on that side of the river—occupants of Danneburg, Luchow and Wustrow, in Luneburg. The *Smeldengi* and the *Bethenici* are mentioned along with the Lini (or Linones). Of this Slavonic a Paternoster may be seen in the Mithridates representing the dialect of the neighbourhood in Luchow in A. D. 1691. It is much mixed with the German. About the middle of the last century this (Cis-Albian Slavonic) dialect became extinct.—D. N.

5. *The Morizani*.—The district round the Muritz Lake. —D. N.

6. *The Doxani*.—Locality; the valley of the Dosse.—D. N.

7. *The Hevelli*.—Locality; the valley of the Hevel. These are the Slavonians of Brandenburg and Mittelmark.—D. N.

Again,—the original *Lithuanic* area extended as far as the frontier between East Prussia and Pomerania. Hence, members of the Lithuanic division may have joined the Angles.

Nor is this all. A case can be made in favour of a large portion of Scandinavia having been Lithuanic before it was German. If so, the Norse element of the English may have contained Sarmatian words.

This question is too new and too complicated to be gone into in any detail. I only raise it,—adding that, amongst other words, I believe *Ale*, *Woman*, *Old Scratch* and *Bogy* (as names of the Devil), to be, in their remote origin, Sarmatian.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ARE THERE UGRIAN ELEMENTS IN ENGLISH?

§ 228. ARE there Ugrian elements in English?

Yugoria is the name of a tract of land which may be found in many of the older maps, applied to the western part of Siberia, or to parts beyond the North-eastern frontier of Russia in Europe.

The tracts thus denominated are chiefly occupied by populations more or less allied to the Finlanders of the Duchy of Finland. There are some others, but the majority are Fin.

Now the adjective Ugrian has grown out of the substantive Ugoria, or Ugria, and the adjective Ugrian has been applied to the tribes of the district in question. More than this, it has been extended to the whole family to which they belong, and as this family contains the Finlanders of Finland, the Laplanders, the Esthonians of Esthonia, the Zirianians and Permians of the Government of Perm, the Magyars of Hungary, and several minor populations on the rivers Obi and Volga besides, the term is one of considerable importance and generality. A work by Müller, upon the ethnology of the tribes in question, and upon the geography of the country they occupy, is denominated "The Ugrian Family" (*Der Ugrische Folkstamme*), and as this is a book of value and authority, it has done much to fix the term. It should be added, however, that there are other names besides, and that good authorities have used them.

The doctrine that Ugrian elements may be found in the English language, rests on two foundations.

The first of these is called the *Fin Hypothesis*. This means that just as a Keltic population preceded the German, so did a Ugrian population precede the Keltic. All Europe,

according to this view, was once Ugrian or Fin—all Europe and much of Asia.

The second source whence we may get Ugrian elements is Norway. Those who put no faith in the Fin, or Ugrian hypothesis, consider that all the parts north of the Baltic were once Lap, even as Lap-land is. If so, Lap words may have been taken up by the Norwegian, and, through it, introduced into England.

This is a question raised rather than solved.

That Lap words are by no means scarce, even in the southern dialects of Norway, is certain.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE PICTS—WHO WERE THEY?

§ 229. THE opinion to which the author committed himself in his last edition was that of the late Mr. Garnett, and, probably, the majority of investigators. This was to the effect of the Picts being Kelts of the British branch—Kelts rather than Germans, and British Kelts rather than Gaelic Kelts.

The evidence lay in the following facts:—

a. When St. Columba, whose mother-tongue was the Irish Gaelic, preached to the Picts, he used an interpreter—*Adamnanus* apud *Colganum*, 1, 11, c. 32. This is a point of external evidence, and shows the *difference* between the Pict and Gaelic. What follows are points of internal evidence, and show the affinity between the Pict and Welsh.

b. A manuscript in the Colbertine Library contains a list of Pict kings from the fifth century downwards. These names are not only more Keltic than Gothic, but more Welsh than Gaelic. *Taran* = *thunder* in Welsh. *Uven* is the Welsh *Owen*. The first syllable in *Talorg* (= *forehead*) is the *tal* in *Talhaiarn* = *iron forehead*, *Taliessin* = *splendid forehead*, Welsh names. *Wrgust* is nearer to the Welsh *Gwrgust* than to the Irish *Fergus*. Finally, *Drust*, *Drostan*, *Wrad*, *Necton*, closely resemble the Welsh *Trwst*, *Trwstan* *Gwriad*, *Nwython*, whilst *Cineod*, and *Domhnall* (*Kenneth* and *Donnell*) are the only true Erse forms in the list.

c. The only Pict common name extant is the well-known compound *pen val*, which is in the oldest MS. of Beda *peann fahel*. This means *caput valli*, and is the name for the eastern termination of the Vallum of Antoninus. Herein *pen* is unequivocally Welsh, meaning *head*. It is an impossible form in Gaelic. *Fal*, on the other hand, is apparently Gaelic,

the Welsh for a *rampart* being *gwall*. *Fal*, however, occurs in Welsh also, and means *inclosure*. “Incepit autem duorum ferme millium spatii à monasterio Æburcurnig ad occidentem, in loco qui sermone Pictorum *Peanfahel*, lingua autem Anglorum *Penneltun* appellatur; et tendens contra occidentem terminatur juxta Urbem Alcluith.”—*Hist. Ecc.* i. 12.

The evidence just indicated is rendered nearly conclusive by an interpolation, apparently of the twelfth century, of the Durham MS. of Nennius, whereby it is stated that the spot in question was called in Gaelic *Cenail*. Now *Cenail* is the modern name *Kinneil*, and it is also a Gaelic translation of the Pict *pen val*, since *cean* is the Gaelic for *head*, and *fhail* for *rampart* or *wall*. If the older form were Gaelic, the substitution, or translation, would have been superfluous.

d. The name of the *Ochil Hills* in Perthshire is better explained from the Pict *uchel* = *high*, than from the Gaelic *uasal*.

e. *Bryneich*, the British form of the province of *Bernicia*, is better explained by the Welsh *byrn* = *ridge* (*hilly country*), than by any word in Gaelic.—*Garnett, in Transactions of Philological Society*.

§ 230. It must be admitted that the evidence in favour of the Picts being not only Kelts, but Kelts of the British branch, is satisfactory—perhaps, when taken by itself, sufficient. At the same time it is anything but conclusive.

Claudian often mentions the Picts. That he mentions them in company with the *Saxons* is a point of no great importance. He mentions them, however, as the occupants of a northern locality—a locality, at least, as far north as the Orkneys.

“Quid rigor æternus cœli; quid sidera prosunt
 Ignotumque fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuso
 Orcades; incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
 Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.”

De quart. Consul. Hon. 30–34.

Due importance must be given to this extract, and to the word *Thule* contained in it. It points towards Scandinavia.

So does the evidence of Nennius:—“Post intervallum annorum multorum, non minus DCCC., Picti venerunt et occupaverunt

insulas quæ *Orcades* vocantur; et postea ex insulis affinitimis vastaverunt non modicas et multas regiones, *occupaverunt que eas in sinistrâli plaga* Britannîæ; *et manent usque in hodiernum diem. Ibi tertiam partem Britannîæ tenuerunt et tenent usque nunc.*—*Nenn.* cv.

The eight hundred years is calculated from the event last noticed, which was to the effect that when Brito the grandson of Æneas was ruling in Britain, his brother Posthumus was king of the Latins, and Eli was judge over Israel. No weight attaches itself to this piece of chronology. On the other hand the geography is valuable. The islands on the *left* of Britain were the Hebrides, and (perhaps) the Isle of Man.

Now the two portions of Britain where the local traditions say most about the Picts are the Orkney Isles and the Scottish Border—the *Vallum* being called the *Picts* Wall.

The following extracts from Nennius point in the same direction, though not more to the parts between the Tyne and Solway than to those between the Forth and Clyde.

“CAP. XII. *Ut Brittones a Scottis vastati Pictisque Romanorum auxilia quæsierint, qui secundo venientes, murum trans insulam fecerint; sed hoc confestim a præfatis hostibus interrupto, majore sint calamitate depressi.*

“Exin Brittania in parte Brittonum, omni armato milite, militaribus copiis universis, tota floridæ juventutis alacritate spoliata, quæ tyrannorum temeritate abducta nusquam ultra domum rediit, prædæ tantum patuit, utpote omnis bellici usus prorsus ignara: denique subito duabus gentibus *transmarinis* vehementer sævis, Scottorum a Circio, *Pictorum ab Aquilone*, multos stupet gemitque per annos. Transmarinas autem dicimus has gentes, non quod extra Brittaniam essent positæ; sed quia a parte Brittonum erant remotæ, duobus sinibus maris interjacentibus, quorum unus ab Orientali mari, alter ab Occidentali, Brittanîæ terras longe lateque inrumpit, quamvis ad se invicem pertingere non possint. Orientalis habet in medio sui urbem Giudi, Occidentalis supra se, hoc est, ad dexteram sui habet urbem Alcluith, quod lingua eorum significat ‘petram cluith;’ est enim juxta fluvium nominis illius.

“Et cum plurimam insulæ partem, incipientis ab austro, possedissent, contigit gentem Pictorum de *Scythia*, ut perhibent,

longis navibus non multis oceanum ingressam, circumagente flatu ventorum, extra fines omnes Britanniae *Hiberniam* pervenisse, ejusque septentrionales oras intrasse, atque inventa ibi gente Scottorum, sibi quoque in partibus illius sedes petisse, nec impetrare potuisse. Ad hanc ergo usque pervenientes navigio Picti ut diximus, petierunt in ea sibi quoque sedes et habitationem donari. Respondebant Scotti, quia non ambos eos caperet insula: 'Sed possumus,' inquiunt, 'salubre vobis dare consilium quid agere valeatis. Novimus insulam aliam esse non procul a nostra, contra ortum solis, quam sæpe lucidioribus diebus de longe aspicere solemus. Hanc adire si vultis, habitabilem vobis facere valetis: vel si qui restiterit, nobis auxiliariis utimini.' Itaque patentes Britanniam Picti, habitare per septentrionales insulae partes coeperunt; nam Austrina Brittones occupaverant. *Cumque uxores Picti non habentes peterent a Scottis*, ea solum conditione dare consenserunt, ut ubi res perveniret in dubium, *magis de feminea regum prosapia*, quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent: *quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum.*"

In these extracts a *third* of Britain is given to the Picts. Now a third is the portion which is afterwards given to the Scandinavians.

The fact of the royal blood running in the *female* line invalidates the inference drawn from the British character of the names of the Pict kings.

The distribution of the Picts over Orkney, the Hebrides, Ireland, and the south of Scotland is exactly that of the Scandinavians, and (in the present state of our knowledge) of no one else.

§ 231. Take a series of names from some of the more English parts of Wales; *e. g.* the parts about Swansea. They will be Welsh, but they will not be the language of all, or even of the majority of the population. *Mutatis mutandis* this is the view that may be taken of the Picto-Brittannic glosses one and all; it being considered that they belonged to the *country* rather than to the *people*. Neither is this exception gratuitous. The geographical distribution of the Picts, and the extent to which it is also Scandinavian must, by no means, be overlooked.

§ 232. The following extract first requires to be construed, then to be criticised.

“Procedente autem tempore, Britannia post Brittones et Pictos, tertiam Scottorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit, *qui* duce *Reuda* de Hibernia progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro sibimet inter eos sedes quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt: a quo videlicet duce usque hodie. *Dalreudini* vocantur, nam lingua eorum ‘*daal*’ partem significat.”

First, as regards the construction.—But one view has been taken of this, viz. that *qui* refers to the word *Scottorum*, so that it was the *Scots* who came from Ireland, the *Scots* whom Reuda led, the *Scots* in whose language *daal* meant part. Nevertheless, the true antecedent *may* be the word *Pictorum*.

Without pressing this point further, let us examine the *matter* of the extract. Herein *daal* is *not a Scotch*, and is a *Scandinavian* word.

Upon the whole, then, it can scarcely be considered safe to take the Keltic origin of the Picts as a settled question. The Scandinavian hypothesis, often adopted and often abandoned, is still tenable.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

AFFINITIES OF THE ENGLISH AND ITS ALLIED LANGUAGES TO
CERTAIN OTHER TONGUES.

§ 233. THE *closest* affinities of the English are with the languages of Germany: but it by no means follows that the range of the English affinities is thus limited.

The English language has clear and definite affinities with both the Latin and the Greek.

Nevertheless, the Latin and the Greek do not belong to the same division of the same class with the English and German.

On the contrary, the tongues allied to the German form a definite group, or division, in a class of considerable magnitude and importance.

And the Latin and Greek form a similar definite group, or division, in that same class.

1. The names of several natural objects, &c., are common to these two groups—viz. the group containing the English and its allied languages, on the one side, and the group containing the Latin and Greek, on the other.

ENGLISH.	LATIN.	GREEK.
<i>fire</i>	—	πῦρ
<i>water</i>	—	ὕδωρ
<i>star</i>	ster-ul-a *	ἀ-στὴρ
<i>tree</i>	—	δρῦς
<i>deer</i> †	fer-a	θῆρ
<i>mere</i>	mar-e	—
<i>wind</i>	vent-us	—

* The fuller form of *stella*.

† As in—

“Rats and mice, and such small *deer*,
Have been Tom’s food for seven long year.”—*King Lear*.

ENGLISH.	LATIN.	GREEK.
<i>ligh-t</i>	luc-s (lux)	—
<i>nigh-t</i>	noc-s (nox)	νύξ
<i>snow</i>	nic-s (nix) *	νίφος
<i>horn</i>	corn-u	κέρας
<i>egg</i>	ov-um	ὠόν
<i>hide</i>	cut-is	—
<i>day</i>	di-es	—
<i>worm</i>	verm-is	—
<i>fish</i>	pisc-is	—
<i>haulm</i>	calam-us	κάλαμος
<i>folk</i>	vulg-us	—
<i>ewe</i>	ov-is	οἷς
<i>cat</i>	cat-ul-us	—
<i>whelp</i>	vulp-es	—
<i>hound</i>	can-is	κύων
<i>flea</i>	pulec-s (pulex)	—
<i>kid</i>	hæd-us	—
<i>ore</i>	æs (ær-is)	—
<i>father</i>	pater	πάτηρ
<i>mother</i>	mater	μήτηρ
<i>brother</i>	frater	—
<i>head</i> †	caput	κεφαλή
<i>brow</i>	fr-ons	ὀφρὺς
<i>eye</i> †	oc-ulus	—
<i>ear</i>	aur-is	—
<i>nose</i>	nas-us	—
<i>lip</i>	lab-ium	—
<i>mouth</i>	ment-um	—
<i>tooth</i>	den-s	—
<i>tongue</i>	lingua (dingua)	—
<i>knee</i>	genu	γόνυ
<i>heel</i>	cal-x	—
<i>red</i>	rut-ilus	ἔρυθρος
<i>yellow</i>	gilv-us	—
<i>cold</i>	gelid-us	—
<i>full</i>	pl-enus	πλέος

* The probable Latin root is *sniv-*; the -s being lost, and the *v* being the *v* of *niv-is*.

† In German *haupt*.

‡ In German *auge*; Anglo-Saxon, *eáge*.

ENGLISH.	LATIN.	GREEK.
<i>long</i>	long-us	—
<i>short</i>	curt-us	—
<i>thin</i>	ten-uis	—
<i>young</i>	juven-is	—
<i>flow</i>	fluo	—
<i>blow</i>	flo	—
<i>drag</i>	trah-o	—
<i>break</i>	frang-o (freg-i)	—
<i>brook</i>	fru-or (fruc-tus)	—
<i>bear</i>	fer-o	Φέρ-ω
<i>eat</i>	ed-o	—
<i>dare</i>	—	Δαρ-σέω
<i>will</i>	vol-o	Βούλ-ομαι
<i>stand</i>	sto	ἵ-στη-μι
<i>wit</i> *	vid-eo	εἶδ-ω
<i>a-m</i>	su-m	εἰ-μι
<i>b-e</i>	fu-i	Φύ-ω

Instances like those which have just been under notice are instances of *glossarial* affinity, because the likeness consists in the likeness between individual words (γλώσσαι).

What follow are instances of what is called *grammatical* affinity, because the likeness consists in the likeness between *the inflections*.

The *-s* in the English genitive singular (*father's*) is the *-s* in *patr-is*, *lapid-is*, &c., which is the *-ς* in *σώματ-ος*, *τίταν-ος*, &c.

2. The *-s* in the English nominative plural (*fathers*) is the *-s* in *lapid-es*, *τιτᾶν-ες*.

3. The *-er* in the English Comparative degree (*wiser*) is probably, the *-er* in words like *inf-er-us*, *sup-er-us*.

4. The *-st* in the English Superlative (*wis-est*) is the *-ιστ* in words like *οἶκτ-ιστ-ος*.

5. The *-m* in *for-m-er* is the *-m* in *pri-m-us*.

6. The *-t* in *tha-t* and *wha-t* is the *-d* in *i-d*, and the *-τ* in *ο-τ-ι*.

* Meaning *know*, as in *I wist not*—*Middlesex to wit*.

7. The *-th* in words like *four-th* *fif-th* is the *-t* in *quar-t-us*, and *quin-t-us*, τέταρ-τ-ος, πέμπ-τ-ος.

8. The *-m* in *a-m*, is the *-m* in *sum*, and εἰ-μ-ί.

9. The *-s* in *call-es-t* is the *-s* in *am-as*, and τύπτ-εις. The *-t* is of a late origin. It was unknown in the Mæso-Gothic, and in the Old-Saxon, where the termination is simply *-s*.

10. The *-th* in *speak-eth* is the *-t* in *am-at*.

11. The *-ing* in *speaking*, is the *-nd* of the Latin Gerunds, *ama-nd-i*, *ama-nd-o*, *ama-nd-um*. The older form of the English participle was *-nd*. In Anglo-Saxon *luf-i-and* was the participle. This termination has since been softened down into *-ing*.

12. The first *d* in *did* is believed on good grounds to be as true a reduplication as the *τ* in τέ-τυφα, and the *m* in *mo-mordi*.

13. The *-d* in the participle *moved* is probably the *-t* in *voc-at-us*, and the *-θ* in τυφ-θ-είς.

Now all this gives us the following fact, viz.: that every one of the ordinary English inflections, as we find them in the ordinary grammars, are not only German, as they are shown to be in the body of the present work, but Latin and Greek as well.

Add to this that the list of *glossarial* affinities can be greatly enlarged.

Add also that § 299 shows us a certain amount of regularity in the interchange of articulate sounds between the English, Latin, and Greek.

Assuredly, then, there is, in philology, some large and comprehensive class, of which the languages akin to the Latin and Greek form one division, the languages akin to the English and German another.

§ 234. Are these the only divisions? No. All the forms of speech akin to the Russian, Servian, Polish, and Bohemian, belong to this same class. So do the forms of speech akin to the Let of Courland and Livonia, and the Lithuanian of Lithuania. So does the language of the ancient literature of India.

It is only because such languages as the Russian, the Servian, the Bohemian, the Polish, the Old Slavonic, the Let, the

Old Prussian, the Lithuanian, and the Sanskrit are less studied than the Latin and Greek that they are less called in to the explanation of the English. The light they shed upon our own language is of the same kind as that given by the classical tongues; and their affinity is, there or thereabouts, the same.

The Keltic is related; but less nearly.

The current, but by no means satisfactory name for the general class containing this alliance of tongues is Indo-European. It is used as rarely as possible in the present work.

CHAPTER XXXV.

HYBRIDISM AND THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW WORDS.

§ 235. IN *lambkin* and *lancet*, the final syllables (*-kin* and *-et*) have the same power. They both express the idea of smallness or diminutiveness. These words are but two out of a multitude, the one (*lamb*) being of Saxon, the other (*lance*) of Norman origin. The same is the case with the super-added syllables: *-kin* is Saxon; *-et* Norman. Now to add a Saxon termination to a Norman word, or *vice versâ*, is to corrupt the English language.

This leads to some observations respecting the—

Introduction of new words—Hybridism.—Hybridism is a term derived from *hybrid-a*, a mongrel; a Latin word of Greek extraction.

The terminations *-ize* (as in *criticize*), *-ism* (as in *criticism*), *-ic* (as in *comic*), along with others, are Greek terminations. To add them to words of other than of Greek origin is to be guilty of hybridism.

The terminations *-ble* (as in *penetrable*), *-bility* (as in *penetrability*), *-al* (as in *parental*)—these, amongst many others, are Latin terminations. To add them to words of other than of Latin origin is to be guilty of hybridism.

Hybridism is the commonest fault that accompanies the introduction of new words. The hybrid additions to the English language are most numerous in works on science.

It must not, however, be concealed that several well-established words are hybrid; and that, even in the writings of the classical Roman authors, there is hybridism between the Latin and the Greek.

The etymological view of every word of foreign origin is, not

that it is put together in England, but that it is brought whole from the language to which it is vernacular. Now no derived word can be brought whole from a language unless, in that language, all its parts exist. The word *penetrability* is not derived from the English word *penetrable*, by the addition of *-ty*. It is the Latin word *penetrabilitas* imported.

In derived words all the parts must belong to one and the same language, or, changing the expression, every derived word must have a possible form in the language from which it is taken. Such is the rule against Hybridism.

A true word sometimes takes the appearance of a hybrid without really being so. The *-icle*, in *icicle*, is apparently the same as the *-icle* in *radicle*. Now, as *ice* is Gothic, and *-icle* classical, hybridism is simulated. *Icicle*, however, is not a derivative but a compound; its parts being *is* and *gicel*, both Anglo-Saxon words.

§ 236. *On Incompletion of the Radical*.—Let there be in a given language a series of roots ending in *-t*, as *sæmat*. Let a euphonic influence eject the *-t*, as often as the word occurs in the nominative case. Let the nominative case be erroneously considered to represent the root, or radical, of the word. Let a derivative word be formed accordingly, *i. e.* on the notion that the nominative form and the radical form coincide. Such a derivative will exhibit only a part of the root; in other words, the radical will be incomplete.

Now all this is what actually takes place in words like *hæmo-ptysis* (*spitting of blood*) *sema-phore* (*a sort of telegraph*). The Greek imparisyllabics eject a part of the root in the nominative case; the radical forms being *hæmat-* and *sæmat-*, not *hæm-* and *sæm-*.

Incompletion of the radical is one of the commonest causes of words being coined faultily. It must not, however, be concealed that, even in the classical writers, we have, in words like *δίστομος*, examples of incompletion of the radical.

PART II.

DIALECTS.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE DIFFUSION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

§ 237. *Distribution of the English Language within the British Isles.*—The English Language is spoken in all the counties of England.

It is spoken in Wales, *partially*; that is, in the Principality of Wales there are two languages, viz. the English, and the Welsh as well.

It is also spoken in Scotland, *partially*; that is, in the Northern and Western counties of Scotland there are two languages, the English, and a language called the *Scotch Gaelic* as well.

It is also spoken in Ireland, *partially*; that is, in Ireland there are two languages, the English, and a language called the *Irish Gaelic* as well.

It is also spoken in the Isle of Man, *partially*; that is, in the Isle of Man there are two languages, the English, and a language called the Manx as well.

§ 238. *Diffusion of the English Language beyond the British Isles.*—It is spoken in the United States of America, in Canada, in Australia, and, more or less in all the English colonies and dependencies.

The extension of the English language *beyond* the British

Isles is a recent event when compared with its extension *over* the British Isles in the early periods of our history. Indeed, the former has taken place almost entirely since the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was then that the first English colony, that of Virginia, was planted in North America; and it was only natural that the emigrants who left England should take their language with them. Upon the shores of America it came in contact and collision with the numerous dialects of the native Indians; and upon these it encroached just as, a thousand years before, it had encroached upon the original British of Britain. Certain languages then became entirely lost, and, at the same time, the tribes that spoke them. Sometimes they were wholly exterminated; sometimes they were driven far into the interior of the land. In a short time populous cities stood upon the hunting-grounds of the expelled tribes, and the language of the mother-country became naturalised in a New World. The subsequent settlement of Maryland, Georgia, and the remaining States of America completed the preponderance of the English language from the boundaries of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico.

During the Protectorate of Cromwell, the island of Jamaica was taken from the Spaniards, and from that time forwards the English has been the language of a greater part of the West-Indian Islands.

In Canada, it first took root after the taking of Quebec in the reign of George the Second. As Canada, however, had been previously a French colony, the European language that was first spoken there was not the English but the French. Hence, when Quebec was taken, the language of the country fell into two divisions. There were the different dialects of the original Indians, and there was the French of the first European colonists. At the present moment, both these languages maintain their ground; so that the English is spoken only partially in Canada, the French and the Indian existing by the side of it.

At the Cape of Good Hope the English is spoken in a similar manner; that is, it is spoken partially. The original inhabitants were the Caffre and Hottentot tribes of Africa, and the earliest European colonists were the Dutch. For these

reasons Dutch and English, conjointly with the Hottentot and Caffrarian dialects, form the language of the Cape of Good Hope. In Guiana, too, in South America, English and Dutch are spoken in the neighbourhood of each other, for the same reason as at the Cape.

In Asia the English language is spoken in India; but there the original languages of the country are spoken to a far greater extent than is the case in either America or Africa.

Australia and New Zealand are exclusively English colonies, and, consequently, in Australia and New Zealand English is the only *European* language that is spoken. In each of these settlements it encroaches upon the native dialects.

Malta, Gibraltar, Heligoland, Guernsey, and Jersey, and many other localities of less note, are isolated spots, which, being portions of the English dominions, use the English language.

The English Language was diffused over the English colonies and dependencies from Great Britain.

The English Language was diffused over Great Britain from Germany.

Mutatis mutandis, the history of the two diffusions is the same.

Different portions of one country, at different times, supplied different portions of other countries with a population speaking a certain language.

The particular form of this language varied with the particular locality from which it was introduced.

Also—with the date of its introduction.

Lastly, it was liable to a further modification from the particular languages of the new countries with which it came in contact. Between them, there would be a certain amount of action and reaction.

§ 239. By putting these facts together we shall find that there are two methods of classifying dialects—the *ethnological* and the *structural*.

According to the former, we place in the same class those dialects which were introduced by the same section of immigrants. Thus, a body of Germans, starting from the same part of Germany, and belonging to the same section of the

German population, even if, whilst at sea, it separated into two, three, or more divisions, and landed upon widely-separated portions of Great Britain, would introduce dialects which were allied *ethnologically*; even though, by one of them changing rapidly, and the others not changing at all, they might, in their external characters, differ from each other, and agree with dialects of a different origin. Hence, the ethnological principle is essentially historical; and it is based upon the idea of *affiliation* or affinity in the way of descent.

The *structural* principle is different. Two dialects introduced by different sections of an immigrant population may suffer similar changes; *e. g.* they may lose the same inflections, adopt similar euphonic processes, or incorporate the same words. In this case, their external characters become mutually alike. Hence, if we take two such dialects, and place them in the same class, we do so simply because they are *alike in certain characters*, not because they are affiliated.

§ 240. Such are the two chief principles of classification. Generally, they more or less coincide; in other words, similarity of external character is *primâ facie* evidence of affinity in the way of affiliation, identity of origin being the safest assumption in the way of cause; whilst identity of origin is generally a sufficient ground for calculating upon similarity of external form; such being, *à priori*, its probable effect.

Still, the evidence of one in favour of the other is only *primâ facie* evidence. Dialects of the same origin may grow unlike; dialects of different origins alike.

§ 241. The causes, then, which determine those minute differences of language, which go by the name of *dialects* are twofold.—1. Original difference; 2. Subsequent change.

The original difference between the two sections of an immigrant population are referable to either—1. Difference of locality in respect to the portion of the country from which they originated; or, 2. Difference in the date of the invasion.

Two bodies of immigrants, one from the Eyder, and the other from the Scheldt, even if they left their respective localities on the same day of the same month, would most probably differ from one another; and that in the same way that a Yorkshireman differs from a Hampshire man.

On the other hand, two bodies of immigrants, each leaving the very same locality, but one in 200 A.D., and the other in 500 A.D., would also, most probably, differ; and that as a Yorkshireman of 1850 A.D. differs from one of 1550 A.D.

§ 242. The subsequent changes which may affect the dialect of an immigrant population are chiefly referable to either influences exerted by the dialects of the aborigines of the invaded country or influences of simple growth, or development. A dialect introduced from Germany to a portion of Great Britain, where the aborigines spoke Gaelic, would be differently affected from a dialect similarly circumstanced in a British, Welsh, and Cambrian district.

A language which changes *rapidly*, will, at the end of a certain period, wear a different aspect from one which changes *slowly*.

CHAPTER II.

CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH DIALECTS.

§ 243. THE philological criticism of a provincial dialect is the philological criticism of a language, except that it is more minute.

Glossarial peculiarities—grammatical peculiarities—phonetic differences—these are the chief heads to which the phenomena of dialects equally with those of languages are referable.

The details of the first of these three divisions belong to lexicography rather than grammar.

§ 244. In the way of inflection we find in the present provincial dialects of Great Britain (amongst others) the following forms.

1. A plural in *-en*, as, We call-*en*, ye call-*en*, they call-*en*.
2. The use of Anglo-Saxon inflections of *he*.
In Lancashire and elsewhere, *hoo* (= A. S. *heo* = *she*).
3. The participial form in *-and*; as *goand*, *slepan*,—Northumberland, &c.
4. The common use of the termination *-th* in the third person present; *goeth*, *hath*, *speaketh*,—Devonshire, &c.
5. Plural forms in *-en*; as *housen*,—Leicestershire and elsewhere.
6. Old preterite and participial forms of certain verbs; as—

<i>Clom</i> ,	from	<i>climb</i> ,	Hereford and elsewhere.
<i>Hove</i> ,	—	<i>heave</i> ,	ditto.
<i>Puck</i> ,	—	<i>pick</i> ,	ditto.
<i>Shuck</i> ,	—	<i>shook</i> ,	ditto.
<i>Squoze</i> ,	—	<i>squeeze</i> ,	ditto.
<i>Sew</i> ,	—	<i>sow</i> ,	Essex.
<i>Rep</i> ,	—	<i>reap</i> ,	ditto.
<i>Mew</i> ,	—	<i>mow</i> ,	ditto, &c.

§ 245. The following changes (a few out of many) are matters not of grammar, but of pronunciation:—

ui for *oo*—*cuil*, *bluid*, for, *cool*, *blood*,—Cumberland, Scotland.

oy for *i*—*foyne*, *twoyne*, for *fine*, *twine*,—Cheshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk.

oy for *oo*—*foyt* for *foot*,—Halifax.

oy for *o*—*noite*, *foil*, *coil*, *hoil*, for *note*, *foal*, *coal*, *hole*,—Halifax.

oy for *a*—*loyne* for *lane*,—Halifax.

ooy for *oo*—*nooin*, *gooise*, *fooil*, *tooil*, for *noon*, *goose*, *fool*, *tool*,—Halifax.

w inserted (with or without a modification)—as *spwort*, *scworn*, *whoam*, for *sport*, *scorn*, *home*,—Cumberland, West Yorkshire, Somerset, Gloster, &c.

ew for *oo*, or *yoo*—*tewn* for *tune*,—Suffolk, Westmoreland, &c.

iv for *oo*, or *yoo* when a vowel follows—as *Samivel* for *Samuel*; *Emmanivel* for *Emmanuel*. In all these we have seen a tendency to *diphthongal* sounds.

In several of the following instances the practice is reversed, and instead of the vowel being made a diphthong, the diphthong becomes a vowel, as—

o for *oy*—*boh* for *boy*,—Suffolk, &c.

oo for *ow*—*broon* for *brown*,—Bilsdale, &c.

ee for *i*—*neet* for *night*,—Cheshire, &c.

o for *ou*—*bawn'* for *bound*,—Westmoreland, &c.

ēē for *a*—*theere* for *there*,—Cumberland, &c.

ēē for *ě*—*reed*, *seeven*, for *read*, *seven*,—Cumberland, Craven.

ā for *ō*—*sair*, *mair*, *baith*, for *sore*, *more*, *both*,—Cumberland, Scotland, &c.

ǎ for *ö*—*saft* for *soft*,—Cheshire, &c.

o for *ǎ*—*mon* for *man*,—Cheshire, &c.

y inserted before a vowel—*styake*, *ryape*, for *stake*, *rope*,—Borrowdale; especially after *g*, *gyarden*, *gyown*, for *garden*, *gown*,—Warwickshire, &c.; and at the beginning of a word, as *yat*, *yan*, for *ate*, *one* (*ane*),—Westmoreland, Bilsdale, &c.

h inserted—*hafter*, *hoppen*, for *after*, *open*,—Westmoreland, &c.

h omitted—*at*, *ard*, for *hat*, *hard*,—*Passim*.

§ 246. *Transition of Consonants.*

b for *v*—*Whitehebbon* for *Whitehaven*,—Borrowdale, &c.

p for *b*—*poat* for *boat*.—Welsh pronunciation of many English words.

v for *f*—*vind* for *find*,—characteristic of Devonshire, Kent, &c.

t for *d* (final)—*deet* for *deed*,—Borrowdale, &c.

t for *ch* (*tsh*)—*fet* for *fetch*,—Devonshire, &c.

d for *j* (*dzh*)—*sled* for *sledge*,—Hereford, &c.

d for *th* (*þ*)—*wid* = *with*; *tudder* = *the other*,—Borrowdale, Westmoreland. Initial (especially before a consonant)—*drash*, *droo* = *thrash*, *through*,—Devonshire, Wilts, &c.

k for *ch* (*tsh*)—*thack*, *pick*, for *thatch*, *pitch*,—Westmoreland, Lincolnshire, Halifax, &c.

g for *j* (*dzh*)—*brig* for *bridge*,—Lincolnshire, Hereford, &c.

g preserved from the Anglo-Saxon—*lig*, *lie*. Anglo-Saxon, *licgan*,—Lincolnshire, North of England, &c.

z for *s*—*zee* for *see*, Devonshire, &c.

s for *sh*—*sall* for *shall*,—Craven, Scotland, &c.

y for *g*—*yet* for *gate*,—Yorkshire, Scotland, &c.

w for *v*—*wiew* for *view*,—Essex, London, &c.

n for *ng*—*bleedin* for *bleeding*,—Cumberland, Scotland, &c.

sk for *sh*—*busk* for *bush*,—Halifax, &c.

§ 247. *Ejection of Letters.*

k before *s*, the preceding vowel being lengthened by way of compensation—*neist* for *next*, *seist* for *sixth*,—Halifax.

d and *v* after a consonant—*gol* for *gold*, *siller* for *silver*,—Suffolk. The ejection of *f* is rarer; *mysel* for *myself*, however, occurs in most dialects.

l final, after a short vowel,—in which case the vowel is lengthened—*poo* for *pull*,—Cheshire, Scotland.

al changed to *a* open—*hawf* for *half*, *saumon* for *salmon*,—Cumberland, Scotland.

§ 248. *Transposition.*—Transpositions of the liquid *r* are common in all our provincial dialects; as *gars*, *brid*, *perty*, for *grass*, *bird*, *pretty*. Here the provincial forms are the

oldest, *gærs*, *brid*, &c., being the Anglo-Saxon forms. Again ; *acsian*, Anglo-Saxon = *ask*, English.

§ 249. *Double meaning of the word old*.—The word *old*, as applied to language, has a double meaning.

The language of the United States was imported from England into America in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The language of South Australia has been introduced within the present generation. In one sense, the American English is older than the Australian. It was earlier separated from the mother-tongue.

The language, however, of America may, in the course of time, become the least old of the two ; the word *old* being taken in another sense. It may change with greater rapidity. It may lose its inflections. It may depart more from the structure of the mother-tongue, and preserve fewer of its *old* elements. In this sense the Australian (provided that it has altered least, and that it retain the greatest number of the *old* inflections) will be the older tongue of the two.

Now what may be said of the language of two countries, may be said of the dialects of two districts. The one dialect may run its changes apace ; the other alter but by degrees. Hence, of two works in two such dialects, the one would appear older than the other, although in reality the two were contemporary.

Hence, also, it is a lax expression to say that it is the old forms (the archaisms) that the provincial dialects retain. The provincial forms are archaic only when the current language changes more rapidly than the local idiom. When the local idiom changes fastest, the archaic forms belong to the standard mode of speech.

The provincial forms, *goand*, *slepan*, for *going* and *sleeping*, are archaic. Here the archaism is with the provincial form.

The forms *almost*, *horses*, *nought but*, contrasted with the provincialisms, *ommost*, *hosses*, *nobbot*, are archaic. They have not been changed so much as they will be. Here the archaism (that is, the nearer approach to the older form) is with the standard idiom. A sequestered locality is preservative of old forms. But writing and education are preservatives of them also.

CHAPTER III.

OLD SPECIMENS OF DIFFERENCE OF DIALECT—DIALECTS
OF THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

§ 250. "IN speaking," writes Mr. Kemble, "of the Anglo-Saxon language, scholars universally intend that particular form of speech in which all the principal monuments of our most ancient literature are composed, and which, with slight variations is found in Beowulf and Cædmon, in the Exeter and Vercelli Codices, in the translation of the Gospel and Homilies, and in the works of Ælfred the Great. For all general purposes this nomenclature is sufficiently exact; and in this point of view, the prevalent dialect, which contains the greatest number of literary remains, may be fairly called the Anglo-Saxon language, of which all varying forms were dialects. It is, however, obvious that this is in fact an erroneous way of considering the subject; the utmost that can be asserted is, that Ælfred wrote his own language, viz. that which was current in Wessex; and that this, having partly through the devastations of heathen enemies in other parts of the island, partly through the preponderance of the West Saxon power and extinction of the other royal families, become the language of the one supreme court, soon became that of literature and the pulpit also."—*Phil. Trans.*, No. 35.

§ 251. If this be the case, any extant specimen of the Anglo-Saxon representative of any form of speech beyond the Kingdom of Wessex presents itself to us under the *primâ facie* aspect of a dialect.

§ 252. In the *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, a Homily on the *Natale Sancti Edmundi* is in this predicament; the form of speech for the parts about Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, being the form of speech represented.

§ 253. Of the two texts of the so-called Saxon Chronicle, one is considered to represent the language of the northern part of Northamptonshire, *i.e.* the parts about Medemstead (or Peterborough). If so, it is Mercian rather than West-Saxon.

§ 254. The chief deviations, however, from the ordinary Anglo-Saxon of the classical Anglo-Saxons, are from the parts north of the Trent.

Wanley's Fragment of Cædmon.—The north-east of Yorkshire was the birth-place of the Anglo-Saxon monk Cædmon. Nevertheless, the form in which his poems in full have come down to us is that of a West-Saxon composition. This indicates the probability of the original work having first been re-cast, and afterwards lost. Be this as it may, the following short fragment has been printed by Wanley, from an ancient MS., and by Hickes from Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, 4, 24, and it is considered, in the first form, to approach, or, perhaps, to represent, the Northumbrian of the original poem.

1.	2.
<i>Wanley.</i>	<i>Hickes.</i>
Nu scylun hergan	Nú we sceolan herigean
Hefaen-ricaes uard,	Heofon-ríces weard,
Metudes mæcti,	Metodes mihte,
End his modgethanc.	And his módgethanc.
Uerc uuldur fadur,	Weorc wuldor-fæder,
Sue he uundra gihuaes,	Sva he wundra gewæs,
Eci drictin,	Ecé driten,
Ord stelidæ.	Ord onstealde.
He ærist scopu,	Ne æ'rest scóp,
Elda barnum,	Eorðan bearnum,
Heben til hrofe ;	Heofon tó rófe ;
Haleg scepen :	Hálig scyppend :
Tha mittungeard,	Dá middangeard,
Moncynnæs uard,	Moncynnes weard,
Eci drictin,	Ece drihten,
Æfter tiaðæ,	Æfter teóde,
Firum foldu,	Firum foldan,
Frea allmectig.	Freá almihtig.

Translation.

Now we should praise	For earth's bairns,
The heaven-kingdom's preserver,	Heaven to roof;
The might of the Creator,	Holy shaper;
And his mood-thought.	Then mid-earth,
The glory-father of works,	Mankind's home,
As he, of wonders, each	Eternal Lord,
Eternal Lord,	After formed,
Originally established.	For the homes of men,
He erst shaped,	Lord Almighty.

§ 255. *The Death-bed Verses of Bede.*

Fore the neidfaerae,	Before the necessary journey,
Naenig uuiurthit	No one is
Thoc-snotturra	Wiser of thought
Than him tharf sie	Than he hath need
To ymbhycganne,	To consider,
Aer his hionongae,	Before his departure,
Huaet, his gastae,	What, for his spirit,
Godaes aeththa yflaes,	Of good or evil,
Æfter deothdaege,	After the death-day,
Doemid uuieorthae.	Shall be doomed.

From a MS. at St. Gallen; quoted by Mr. Kemble, *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii.

§ 256. *The Ruthwell Runes.*—The inscription in Anglo-Saxon Runic letters, on the Ruthwell Cross, is thus deciphered and translated by Mr. Kemble:—

. mik.	 me.
Riiknæ kyningk	The powerful King,
Hifunæs hlafard,	The Lord of Heaven,
Hælda ic ne dærstæ.	I dared not hold.
Bismerede ungket men,	They reviled us two,
Bâ ætgæd[r]e,	Both together,
Ik (n)iðbædi bist(e)me(d)	I stained with the pledge of crime.
.	
. geredæ	 prepared
Hinæ gamældæ	Himself spake

Estig, Ða he walde	Benignantly when he would
An galgu gistîga	Go up upon the cross,
Môdig fore	Courageously before
Men,	Men
.	
.	
Mid stralum giwundæd,	Wounded with shafts,
Alegdun hiæ hinæ,	They laid him down,
Limwêrigne.	Limb-weary.
Gistodun him . . .	They stood by him.
.	
Krist wæs on rôdi;	Christ was on cross.
HweÐræ ther fûsæ	Lo! there with speed
Fearran cwomu	From afar came
ÆÐÐilæ ti lænum.	Nobles to him in misery.
Ic that al bih (eôld)	I that all beheld
. sæ (. . .)	
Ic w(æ)s mi(d) ga(l)gu	I was with the cross
Æ (. . .) rod . ha . .	
.	

“The dialect of these lines is that of Northumberland in the seventh, eighth, and even ninth centuries. The first peculiarity is in the *æ* for *e* in the oblique cases, and which I have observed in the contemporary MS. of CuÐberht’s letter at St. Gallen. This, which is strictly organic, and represents the uncorrupted Gothic genitive in *-as*, and dative in *a*, as well as the Old-Saxon forms of the substantive, is evidence of great antiquity. But that which is, perhaps, the most characteristic of the Northumbrian dialect is the formation of the infinitive in *-a* and *æ*, instead of *-an* (*hældaæ*, *gistiga*). The Durham Book has, I believe, throughout but one single verb, which makes the infinitive in *-an*, and that is the anomalous word *bean* = *to be*; even *wosa* and *wiortha* following the common rule. The word *ungket* is another incontrovertible proof of extreme antiquity, having, to the best of my knowledge, never been found but in this passage. It is the dual of the first personal pronoun *Ic*, and corresponds to the very rare dual of the second personal pronoun *incit*, which occurs twice in *Cædmon*.” *

* J. M. Kemble, “On Anglo-Saxon Runes,” *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii.

§ 257. *The Cotton Psalter*.—This is a Latin Psalter in the Cotton collection, accompanied by an Anglo-Saxon interlineation. Place uncertain. Time, ninth century or earlier. The following points of difference between this and the West-Saxon are indicated by Mr. Garnett, *Phil. Soc.* No. 27.

COTTON PSALTER.	WEST-SAXON.
Boen, <i>prayer</i>	Bén.
Boec, <i>books</i>	Béc.
Coelan, <i>cool</i>	Célan.
Doeman, <i>judge</i>	Déman.
Foedan, <i>feed</i>	Fédan.
Spoed, <i>fortune</i>	Spéd.
Swoet, <i>sweet</i>	Swét.
Woenan, <i>think, ween</i>	Wénan.

§ 258. *The Durham Gospels—Quatuor Evangelia Latine, ex translatione B. Hieronymi, cum glossâ interlineatâ Saxonica*.—Nero, D. 4.

MATTHEW, cap. 2.

miððy arod gecenned were haelend in ðær byrig
 Cum ergo natus esset Jesus in Bethleem Judææ
 in dagum Herodes cyninges heonu ða tungulcraeftga of eustdael
 in diebus Herodis Regis, ecce magi ab oriente
 cweoðonde
 cwomun to hierusalem hiu cwoedon huer is ðe acenned
 venerunt Hierosolymam, dicentes, Ubi est qui natus
 tungul
 is cynig Judeunu gesegon we forðon sterru his in
 est rex Judæorum? vidimus enim stellam ejus in
 eustdæl and we cwomon to worðanne hine geherde wiototlice
 oriente et venimus adorare eum. Audiens autem
 ða burgwæras
 herodes se cynig gedroefed wæs and alle ða hierusolemisca mið
 Herodes turbatus est et omnis Hierosolyma cum
 mesapreusti
 him and gesomnede alle ða aldormenn biscopa
 illo. Et congregatis (*sic*) omnes principes sacerdotum
 geascode
 and ða uðuutta ðæs folces georne gefragnde fra him huer crist
 et scribas populi, sciscitabatur ab iis ubi Christus
 acenned were.
 nasceretur.

§ 259. *The Rituale Ecclesie Dunhelmensis*.—Edited for the Surtees Society by Mr. Stevenson. Place: neighbourhood of Durham. Time: A.D. 970. Differences between the Psalter and Ritual:—

a. The form for the first person is in the Psalter generally *-u*. In the Ritual it is generally *-o*. In West Saxon, *-e*.

PSALTER.—*Getreow-u*, I believe; *cleopi-u*, I call; *sell-u*, I give; *ondred-u*, I fear; *ageld-u*, I pay; *getimbr-u*, I build. Forms in *-o*; *sitt-o*, I sit; *drinc-o*, I drink.

RITUAL.—*Feht-o*, I fight; *wuldrig-o*, I glory. The ending in *-u* is rarer.

b. In the West Saxon the plural present of verbs ends in *-aƿ*: *We lufi-aƿ*, *ge lufi-aƿ*, *hi lufi-aƿ*. The Psalter also exhibits this West-Saxon form. But the plurals of the Ritual end in *-s*: as, *bidd-as* = *we pray*; *giwoed-es* = *put on*; *wyrc-as* = *do*.

c. The infinitives of verbs end in the West Saxon in *-an* as *cwed-an* = *to say*. So they do in the Psalter. But in the Ritual the *-n* is omitted, and the infinitive ends simply in *-a*: *cuoetha* = *to say*; *inngeonga* = *to enter*.

d. The oblique cases and plurals of substantives in West Saxon end in *-an*: as *heortan* = *heart's*; *heortan* = *hearts*. So they do in the Psalter. But in the Ritual the *-n* is omitted, and the word ends simply in *-a* or *-e*; as *nome* = *of a name* (West Saxon *nam-an*); *hearta* = *hearts*.

§ 260. *The Rushworth Gospels*. — Place, Harewood in Wharfedale, Yorkshire. Time, according to Wanley, the end of the ninth century.

Here observe—

1. That the Ruthwell inscription gives us a sample of the so-called Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon, and that as it is spoken in Scotland, *i. e.* in Galloway.

2. That the Rushworth Gospels take us as far south as the West Riding of Yorkshire.

3. That there are no specimens from any Cumberland, Westmoreland, or North Lancashire localities, these being, most probably, exclusively Keltic.

The most general statements concerning this great section of the Anglo-Saxon, is that it prefers—

1. The sounds of *k* and *s*, to those of *ch* and *sh*.
2. The forms without the prefix *ge-*, to those with them. Nevertheless the form *ge-cenned* (= *natus*) occurs in the first line of the extract from the Durham Gospels.

“The most important peculiarity in which the Durham Evangeles and Ritual differ from the Psalter is the form of the infinitive mood in verbs. This in the Durham books is, with the exception of one verb, *beán, esse*, invariably formed in *-a*, not in *-an*, the usual form in all the other Anglo-Saxon dialects. Now this is also a peculiarity of the Frisic, and of the Old Norse, and is found in no other Germanic tongue; it is then an interesting inquiry whether the one or the other of these tongues is the origin of this peculiarity; whether, in short, it belongs to the Old, the original Frisic form which prevailed in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, or whether it is owing to Norse influence, acting in the ninth and tenth, through the establishment of Danish invaders and a Danish dynasty in the countries north of the Humber.”—*Kemble, Phil. Trans.* No. 35.

The Wessex and Northumbrian forms of the Anglo-Saxon are strongly contrasted. That the language of the Midland parts of England was intermediate to the two is a reasonable supposition. We may, if we choose, call this *Mercian*, as many do. If so, the primary division of the Anglo-Saxon dialects is (1) West-Saxon, (2) Mercian, (3) Northumbrian. So little, however, is known of the Mercian, that an arrangement thus systematic is, in the present state of our knowledge, scarcely safe.

§ 261. The study of the dialects of the *Old* and *Middle English* is complicated by a distinction, of some importance, between *simple transcription* and *transcription with accommodation*.

The locality of the authorship of a composition is one thing. The locality of a MS. is another.

Thus—the composition of a Devonshire poet may find readers in Northumberland, and his work be transcribed by a Northumbrian copyist. Now this Northumbrian copyist may do one of two things: he may transcribe the Devonian production *verbatim et literatim*; in which case his country-

men read the MS. just as a Londoner reads Burns, *i. e.* in the dialect of the writer, and not in the dialect of the reader. On the other hand, he may *accommodate* as well as transcribe, *i. e.* he may change the *non*-Northumbrian into Northumbrian expressions, in which case his countrymen read the MS. in their own rather than the writer's dialect.

Now it is clear, that in a literature where transcription *combined with accommodation* is as common as *simple* transcription, we are never sure of knowing the dialect of an author unless we also know the dialect of his transcriber. In no literature is there more of this *semi*-translation than in the Anglo-Saxon and the early English; a fact which sometimes raises difficulties, by disconnecting the evidence of authorship with the otherwise natural inferences as to the dialect employed; whilst, at others, it smoothes them away by supplying as many specimens of fresh dialects, as there are extant MSS. of an often-copied composition.

Inquiring whether certain peculiarities of dialect in Layamon's Brut, really emanated from the author, a writer in the *Quarterly Review* (No. clxiv.) remarks, that to decide this it "would be necessary to have access either to the priest's autograph, or to a more faithful copy of it than it was the practice to make either in his age or the succeeding ones. A transcriber of an early English composition followed his own ideas of language, grammar, and orthography; and if he did not entirely obliterate the characteristic peculiarities of his original, he was pretty sure, like the Conde de Olivares, 'd'y meter beaucoup du sein.' The practical proof of this is to be found in the existing copies of those works, almost every one of which exhibits some peculiarity of features. We have *Trevisa* and *Robert of Gloucester* in two distinct forms—*Pier's Ploughman* in at least three, and *Hampole's Pricke of Conscience* in half a dozen, without any absolute certainty which approximates most to what the authors wrote. With regard to Layamon, it might be supposed that the older copy is the more likely to represent the original; but we have internal evidence that it is not the priest's autograph; and it is impossible to know what altera-

tions it may have undergone in the course of one or more transcriptions."

Again, in noticing the orthography of the *Ormulum* (alluded to in the present work*), he writes: "It is true that in this instance we have the rare advantage of possessing the author's autograph, a circumstance which cannot with confidence be predicated of any other considerable work of the same period. The author was, moreover, as Mr. Thorpe observes, a kind of critic in his own language; and we therefore find in his work, a regularity of orthography, grammar, and metre, hardly to be paralleled in the same age. All this might, in a great measure, disappear in the very next copy; for fidelity of transcription was no virtue of the thirteenth or the fourteenth century; at least with respect to vernacular works. It becomes, therefore, in many cases a problem of no small complication, to decide with certainty respecting the original metre, or language, of a given mediæval composition, with such data as we now possess."

From all this it follows, that the inquirer must talk of *copies* rather than of *authors*.

§ 262. Again—differences of spelling do not always imply differences of pronunciation, though perhaps they may be *primâ facie* of such. Still, it is uncritical to be over-hasty in separating, as specimens of *dialect*, works, which, perhaps, only differ in being specimens of separate *orthographies*.

Again—the accommodation of a transcribed work is susceptible of *degrees*. It may go so far as absolutely to replace one dialect by another, or it may go no further than the omission of the more unintelligible expressions, and the substitution of others more familiar. I again quote the *Quarterly Review*:—"There are very few matters more difficult than to determine, *à priori*, in what precise form a vernacular composition of the thirteenth century might be written, or what form it might assume in a very short period. Among the Anglo-Saxon charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, many are modelled upon the literary Anglo-Saxon, with a few slight changes of orthography and inflection; while

others abound with dialectical peculiarities of various sorts. Those peculiarities may generally be accounted for from local causes. An East-Anglian scribe does not employ broad western forms, nor a West of England man East-Anglian ones; though each might keep his provincial peculiarities out of sight, and produce something not materially different from the language of Ælfric."

In the Reeve's Tale, Chaucer puts into the mouth of one of his north-country clerks, a native of Strother, in the north-west part of the deanery of Craven, where the Northumbrian dialect rather preponderates over the Anglian, certain Yorkshire glosses. "Chaucer* undoubtedly copied the language of some native; and the general accuracy with which he gives it shows that he was an attentive observer of all that passed around him.

"We subjoin an extract from the poem, in order to give our readers an opportunity of comparing southern and northern English, as they co-existed in the fifteenth century. It is from a MS. that has never been collated; but which we believe to be well worthy the attention of any future editor of the Canterbury Tales. The italics denote variations from the printed text:—

"John highte that oon and Aleyn highte that other:

Of oo toun were thei born that highte Strother,

Ffer in the north I can not tellen where.

This Aleyn maketh redy al his gere—

And on an hors the sak he caste anoon.

Fforth goth Aleyn the clerk and also John.

With good swerde and bokeler by his side.

John knewe the weye—hym nedes no gide;

And atte melle the sak a down he layth.

Aleyn spak first: Al heyle, Symond—in fayth—

How fares thi fayre daughter and thy wyf?

Aleyn welcome—quod Symkyn—be my lyf—

And John also—how now, what do ye here?

By God, quod John—Symond, nede has *na* pere.

Hym bihoves *to* serve him self that has *na* swayn;

Or *ellis* he is a fool as clerkes sayn.]

* From the *Quarterly Review*, No. cx.]

Oure maunciple I hope he wil be ded—
 Swa *werkes hym* ay the wanges in his heed.
 And therefore is I come and eek Aleyn—
 To grynde oure corn, and carye it *ham* agayne.
 I pray yow *spedes** us *hethen* that ye may.
 It shal be done, quod Symkyn, by my fay!
 What wol ye done while it is in hande?
 By God, right by the hoper wol I stande,
 Quod John, and see *how gates* the corn gas inne;
 Yit saugh I never, by my fader kynne,
 How that the hoper wagges til and fra!
 Aleyn answerde—John wil *ye* swa?
 Than wil I be bynethe, by my crown,
 And se *how gates* the mele falles down
 In til the trough—that sal be my disport.
 Quod John—In faith, I is of youre sort—
 I is as ille a meller as *are* ye.

* * * * *
 And when the mele is sakked and ybounde,
 This John goth out and fynt his hors away—
 And gan to crie, harow, and wele away!—
 Our hors is lost—Aleyn, for Godde's banes,
 Stepe on thi feet—come of man attanes!
 Allas, oure wardeyn has his palfrey lorn!
 This Aleyn al forgat bothe mele and corn—
 Al was out of his mynde, his housbonderie.
 What—whilke way is he goon? he gan to crie.
 The wyf come lepynge *in* at a ren;
 She saide—Allas, youre hors goth to the fen
 With wylde mares, as faste as he may go.
 Unthank come on this hand that *band* him so—
 And he that *bet* sholde have knet the reyne.
 Alas! quod John, Alayn, for Christe's peyne,
 Lay down thi swerde, and I *wil* myn alswa;
 I is ful *swift*—God wat—as is a ra—
 By Goddes *herte* he sal nought scape us bathe.
 Why ne hadde thou put the capel in the lathe?
 Il hayl, by God, Aleyn, thou *is* fonne.”

“Excepting the obsolete forms *hethen* (hence), *swa*, *lorn*, *whilke*, *alswa*, *capel*—all the above provincialisms are still,

* Apparently a *lapsus calami* for *spede*.

more or less, current in the north-west part of Yorkshire. *Na*, *ham(e)*, *fra*, *banes*, *attanes*, *ra*, *bathe*, are pure Northumbrian. *Wang* (cheek or temple) is seldom heard, except in the phrase *wang tooth*, *dens molaris*. *Ill*, adj., for *bad*—*lathe* (barn)—and *fond* (foolish)—are most frequently and familiarly used in the West Riding, or its immediate borders.”

Now this indicates a class of writings which, in the critical history of our local dialects, must be used with great caution and address. An imitation of dialect may be so lax as to let its only merit consist in a deviation from the standard idiom.

Edgar in *King Lear*, when assuming madness, speaks after the fashion of a clown, and (so doing) speaks provincially. The particular dialect which he uses is uncertain. The locality in which it is used is Kent. But is the form Kentish? Many hold that there was a conventional dialect for the stage, that this was that of the West Country, inasmuch as the words put into the mouth of the character under notice, as well as many others, are most like those of Somerset and Devon—from which the *present* Kentish differs notably. On the other hand, a well-known Kentish specimen of the thirteenth century is full of West-country forms. If so, the dialect has altered—certainly since the time of the work in question, possibly since that of Shakspeare.

In Ben Jonson's *Tale of a Tub*, one (and more than one of the characters) speaks thus; his residence being the neighbourhood of London.

Is it no sand? nor buttermilk? if 't be,
Ich 'am no zive, or watering-pot, to draw
Knots in your 'casions. If you trust me, zo—
If not, *praforme* 't your zelves. 'Cham no man's wife,
But resolute Hilts: you 'll vind me in the buttry.

Act I. Scene 1.

This is certainly Western, rather than South-Eastern, *at the present time at least*.

Not so, however, with the provincialisms of another of Ben Jonson's plays, the *Sad Shepherd*:

——shew your sell
Tu all the sheepards, bauldly; gaing amang hem.

Be mickle in their eye, frequent and fugeand.
 And, gif they ask ye of Eiarine,
 Or of these claithes; say that I ga' hem ye,
 And say no more. I ha' that wark in hand,
 That web upon the luime, sall gar em thinke.

Act II. Scene 3.

Here the forms are Northern, the scene of the play being Sherwood Forest.

Is this the present dialect of Nottinghamshire? Not much. Was it the dialect of Nottinghamshire in Jonson's time? It was either that or something conventional; or, possibly, it was the dialect best known to the author.

Sufficient has been said to show the caution required in connecting the older with the present provincialisms. The extent to which this has been done will appear towards the conclusion of our next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

PROVINCIAL FORMS OF SPEECH AT PRESENT EXISTING.

§ 263. That the distinction between the Angle and the Saxon portions of England has no real existence, is a doctrine for which the reasons have been given in Part I.

From this it follows that the ordinary division into the Angle and the Saxon dialects of England is invalid.

The extent to which philological elements derived from the *Jutes* of *Jut-land* are *not* to be sought for in either Kent or Hants has been investigated.

So has the extent to which philological elements derived from the Goths of Gaul, and the Franks of Gaul *may* be sought for.

The points where the English and British frontiers meet are supplied by the ordinary maps—the localities wherein the original British held its ground the longest being indicated in the ordinary histories.

The Danish, Norse, or Scandinavian areas will be considered in a separate chapter—a chapter which also contains some remarks upon the Frisians.

In ignoring the ordinary distinctions between the Angles and the Saxons the present writer deviates widely from his predecessors. Nevertheless, he, by no means denies that the application of the two terms to different parts of England may be a fact, which, if rightly interpreted, is of considerable importance. That the words *Sus-sex*, *Es-sex*, *Middle-sex*, and *Wes-sex*, mean *something* in the way of *Saxon-hood* is transparently evident. It is only doubtful in what this *Saxon-hood* consisted. Now if it did not consist in a *real* difference between the Saxons and the Angles, it consisted in a difference of the conditions under which the two names were imposed.

The details of the difference I imagine to have been as follows:—

In the Saxon parts of England the influence of the populations who called the *Angles* by the name of *Saxon* was sufficient to give currency to the latter term, as opposed to the former; whereas, in the Angle parts of England this influence was insufficient to affect the currency and predominance of the native names.

Now the populations who called the Angles by the name of Saxon were three—(1) the original Britons, (2) the Romans, and (3) the Franks—supposing these latter to have been (as they are by hypothesis) early occupants of Kent.

The value of each of these influences in determining the name *Saxon* has yet to be investigated—if, indeed, it lies within the field of investigation. So have the questions depending on the Gothic hypothesis.

The *real* fact, then, indicated by the term *Saxon* (a term which the currency of the names *Es-sex*, *Sus-sex*, *Middle-sex*, and *Wes-sex* makes convenient) is, the prevalence of some element, either Roman or British, either Frank or Gothic, either Romano-Britannic or Franco-Gothic, &c., &c., in the parts south of the Orwell and the Thames, of sufficient influence to determine the preponderance of a British, Roman, or Frank name over a German one, even in the case of a German population.

The term *Saxon* as applied to our dialects is *convenient*; its convenience making the use of it excusable; and—

The division of our dialects called *Saxon* is, to a certain extent, *natural*—though not on account of the reasons usually exhibited.

§ 264. The extent to which the standard or classical Anglo-Saxon was Saxon rather than Angle has already been noticed. It may be added that it was *West-Saxon* rather than either *South-Saxon*, or *East-Saxon*, *Middle-Saxon* or Kentish.

Now, it by no means follows that because the *West-Saxon* was the form of speech most under cultivation in the times anterior to the Norman Conquest, it should also be the form of speech in which the English writers most especially expressed themselves. On the contrary, the literary develop-

ment of the southern dialects may have ceased with the Saxon line of kings, whereas the reaction against the Anglo-Norman may have begun with some other dialect—Northern, Eastern, Western, or Midland, as the case may have been.

§ 265. In the present state of our knowledge we should neither wholly eliminate from the study of the modern dialects such terms as Saxon, Mercian, and Northumbrian, on the one side, nor yet, on the other, force our groups into an absolute agreement with the old political divisions of the Anglo-Saxon period.

Let—

Saxon = *Southern*

Northumbrian = *Northern*

East Anglian = *Eastern*,

Mercian = *Midland*,

and we get a convenient and not very inaccurate nomenclature — a nomenclature, however, which is merely provisional. Should it lead to any undue identifications between the political and philological divisions, it should be abandoned.

§ 266. *The Midland (Mercian?) Group of Dialects.*— I think that it was Mr. Guest who first diverted the attention of scholars from the consideration of the West-Saxon of the chief Anglo-Saxon writers as the mother-dialect of the present English to the Mercian; so turning their attention from the south to the centre of England.

The primary reason for this view lies in the fact of the Midland Dialects making the nearest approach to the literary English. This is only another way of saying that the literary English more especially represents the Midland dialects. That the peasants and country people of these parts partake of the nature of literary men more than those elsewhere, and that they speak more purely on the strength of a better education, is an untenable position. The truer view is, that the English of our standard authors originated in the Midland counties. Hence, it is the literature that resembles the dialects rather than the dialects that emulate the literature.

The particular district where the difference between the language of the educated portion of the community and the masses is at its *minimum*, I believe, to be the parts between

St. Neots in Huntingdonshire and Stamford on the borders of Lincoln, Rutland, and Northamptonshire. This gives the county of Huntingdon as a centre. The same—though in a less degree—applies to the southern, eastern, and south-eastern parts of Lincolnshire, Rutland, the north and north-western parts of Cambridge, the western parts of Essex, Herts, Beds, Northamptonshire, and part of Bucks. In Warwickshire, and Oxfordshire, a similar representation of the literary English prevails—though a change from the typical forms of Huntingdon and Bedford is apparent.

In the quarters I know best—*i.e.* the southern parts of Lincolnshire, Gay's song of—

Our Polly is a sad slut, &c.

would run as follows :—

Our Polly is a sad sloot,* nor heeds what we hev taught her,
 I woonder any man on eerth should ivver rare a daughter ;
 For she mun hev both hoods and gowns and hoops to swell her
 pride,
 And scarves, and stays, and gloovs, and laëce, and she 'll hev men
 beside ;
 And when she 's dressed with carr and cost, so temptin, foyne, and
 gay,
 As men should sarve a cowcumber, she flings hersen away.

I do not say that this gives us the *minimum* deviation from the literary English. I only say that it approaches it.

With dialects even more than with separate substantive languages must we classify after types, rather than by definitions.

For this reason the parts about Huntingdon or Bedford have been chosen as a centre for the Midland, or Mercian forms of speech. For—

§ 267. *The Southern—Saxon—group of Dialects*, we conveniently begin with Somersetshire. The dialect of this county—especially the western parts of it—stands in strong contrast to the Huntingdon.

* Sounded as the *u* in *full*.

§ 268. SPECIMENS.

*Mr. Guy and the Robbers.**

1.
Mr. Guy war a gennelman
O' Huntsfull, well knawn
As a grazier, a hirsch one,
Wi' lons o' hiz awn.

2.
A oten went ta Lunnun
He's cattle ver ta zill ;
All the hosses that a rawd
Niver minded hadge or hill.

3.
A war afeard o' naw one ;
A niver made his will ;
Like wither vawk, avaur a went
He's cattle vor ta zill.

4.
One time a'd bin to Lunnun,
An zawld iz cattle well ;
A brought awa a power o' gawld,
As I've a hired tell.

5.
As late at night a rawd along,
All droo a unket ood,
A ooman rauze vrom off tha groun,
An right avaur en stood.

6.
She look'd za pitis Mr. Guy
At once hiz hoss's pace
Stapt short, a wonderin how, at
night,
She com'd in jitch a place.

7.
A little trunk war in her hon ;
She zim'd vur gwon wi chile,
She ax'd en nif a'd take er up
An cor er a veo mile.

8.
Mr. Guy, a man o' veelin
Vor a ooman in distress,
Than took er up behind en ;
A cood'n do na less.

9.
A corr'd er trunk avaur en,
And by hiz belt o' leather
A bid her hawld vast ; on tha rawd,
Athout much tak, together.

10.
Not vur tha went avaur she gid
A whissle loud an long,
Which Mr. Guy thawt very strange,
Er voice too zim'd za strong ;

11.
She'd lost er dog, she zed ; an than
Another whizzle blaw'd,
That stortled Mr. Guy ; a stapt
His hoss upon the rawd.

12.
Goo on, zed she ; bit Mr. Guy
Zum rig beginn'd ta fear ;
Vor voices rauze upon tha wine,
An zim'd a comin near.

13.
Again tha rawd along ; again
She whissled, Mr. Guy
Whipt out his knife an cut tha
belt,
Than push'd er off ; vor why :

14.
Tha ooman he took up behine,
Begummers, war a man ;
Tha rubbers zaw ad lad ther plots
Our grazier to trepan.

* From Halliwell's *Archaic and Provincial Dictionary*.

15.

I sholl not stap ta tell what zed
Tha man in ooman's clawze,
Bit he an all o'm jist behine
War what you mid suppauze—

16.

Tha cust, tha swaur, tha dreaten'd
too,
An ater Mr. Guy
Tha gallop'd all; twar niver tha
near,
Hiz hoss along did vly.

17.

Auver downs, droo, dales, awa a
went,
Twar da-light now amawst,
Till at an inn a stapt, at last,
Ta thenk what he'd a lost.

18.

A lost! why nothin—but hiz belt
A zummet moor ad gain'd;
Thic little trunk a corr'd awa,
It gawld galore contain'd.

19.

Nif Mr. Guy war hirsch avaur,
A now war hircher still,
Tha plunder o' tha highwamen
Hiz coffers went ta vill.

20.

In safety Mr. Guy rawd whim,
A o'ten tawld the story;
Ta meet wi' jitch a rig myzel,
I shood'n soce be zorry.

The Devonshire forms are more extreme still.

EXTRACT.*

RAB. Zo, Bet, how is't? How de try?—Where hast a'be thicka way? Where dost come from?

BET. Gracious, Rab! you gush'd me. I've a' be up to vicarige, to vet a book vor dame, and was looking to zee if there be any shows in en, when you wisk'd over the stile, and galled me.

RAB. And dost thee look so like a double-rose, when thee art a' galled, Bet? What dost thee gook thee head vor: look up, wo't?

BET. Be quiet: let 'lone my hat, wol ye?

RAB. What art tozing over the book vor?

BET. Turning out the dog's ears.

RAB. 'Ot is it—a story book?

BET. I wish 'twas, I love story books dearly; many nearts I've a' zit up when all the volks have a' be a-bed, and a' rede till es have had a crick in the niddick, or a' burn'd my cep.

RAB. And dost love to rede stories about spirits and witches?

BET. I'll tell thee. I was wan neart reding a story book about spirits, that com'd and draw'd back the curtains at the bed's voot

* *A Devonshire Dialogue, in Four Parts, &c.* Edited by Mrs. Gwatkin. London and Plymouth, 1839.

(and there was the ghastly pictures o' em). The clock had beat wan, when an owl screech'd 'pon the top o' the chimley, and made my blood rin cold. I zim'd the cat zeed zum 'ot: the door creaked, and the wind hulder'd in the chimley like thunder. I prick'd up my ears, and presently, zum 'ot, very hurrisome, went dump! dump! I would a' geed my life vor a varden. Up I sprung, drow'd down my candle, and douted en; and hadn't a blunk o' fire to teen en again. What could es do? I was afear'd to budge. At last I took heart, and went up stears backward, that nort mert catch me by the heels. I didn't unray mysel vor the neart, nor teen'd my eyes, but healed up my head in the quilt, and my heart bumpt zo, ye could hear en; and zo I lied panking till peep o' day.

RAB. Poor Bet! why if a vlea had hopp'd into thy ear thee wot a' swoon'd.

BET. You may well enew laugh at me, but I can't help et, nor vorbear reding the books when I come athort 'em. But I'll tell thee: I've a' thort pon't zince, that the dump! dump! dump! that galled me zo, was nort else but our great dog diggin out his vleas against the dresser.

RAB. Like enew: I marvel that you, who ha' zo much indel and oudel work to do, can vend time vor reding; but then, it zeems, you rede when you ought to zleep.

BET. Why, you must know, Dame doesn't like I shu'd rede zich books; it be other lucker books us ha' vrom the Pason; and when us ha' done up our chewers, and 'tis candle-teeming, Measter takes hiszell to the alehouse, I take up my knitting, and Dame redes to me. Good now: es may ha' as many books vrom the Pason as us wol, he ne'er zaith her nay, and he hath a power o' em, that a' hath.

In Cornwall the general character is Devonian—in Cornwall, however, we must remember that the Cornubian form of the British was in existence during the last century.

The Gloucestershire dialect belongs to the same class with the Somerset; with which (as with the Wilts) it agrees more than with the Herefordshire.

SPECIMEN.

*George Ridler's Oven.**

1.

The stowns that built George Ridler's Oven,
 And thauby qeum from the Bleakeney's quar;
 And George he wur a jolly old mon,
 And his yead it graw'd above his yare.

2.

One thing of George Ridler I must commend,
 And that wur not a notable theng;
 He mead his brags avoore he died,
 We any dree brothers his zons z'hou'd zeng.

3.

There's Dick the treble and John the mean,
 Let every mon zing in his auwn pleace;
 And George he wur the elder brother,
 And therevoore he would zing the beass.

4.

Mine hostess's moid (and her neaum 'twur Nell),
 A pretty wench, and I lov'd her well;
 I lov'd her well, good reauzon why;
 Because zhe lov'd my dog and I.

5.

My dog is good to catch a hen,
 A duck or goose is vood for men;
 And where good company I spy,
 O thether gwoes my dog and I.

6.

My mwother told I when I wur young,
 If I did vollow the strong beer pwoot,
 That drenk would pruv my auverdrow,
 And meauk me wear a thread-bare cwoat.

7.

My dog has gotten zitch a trick,
 To visit moids when thauby be zick:
 When thauby be zick and like to die,
 O thether gwoes my dog and I.

* From Halliwell's *Archaic and Provincial Dictionary*

8.

When I have dree zispences under my thumb,
 O then I be welcome wherever I come;
 But when I have none, O then I pass by,
 'Tis poverty pearts good company.

9.

If I should die, as it may hap,
 My greauve shall be under the good yeal tap:
 In vouled earms there wool us lie,
 Cheek by jowl my dog and I.

The Western Somerset graduates into the Devonshire; the Eastern into the Wiltshire and Dorsetshire forms of speech, these latter being still strongly marked by provincial peculiarities—more so than that of Berks, which theoretically is the special representative of the Anglo-Saxon of Wessex:—

SPECIMEN.

1.

*A Letter from a parish Clerk in Dorsetshire to an absent Vicar, in the Dialect of the County. From "Poems on Several Occasions," formerly written by John Free, D.D. 8vo., London, 1757.**

Measter, an't please you, I do send,
 Theaz letter to you as a vriend,
 Hoping you'll pardon the inditing,
 Becaz I am not us'd to writing,
 And that you will not take unkind
 A word or zo from poor George Hind.
 For I am always in the way,
 And needs must hear what people zay.
 First of the house they make a joke,
 And zay the chimnies never smoak.
 Now the occasion of these jests,
 As I do think, were swallows nests;
 That chanc'd the other day to vaal,
 Into the parlour, zut and aal.
 Bezide the people not a few,
 Begin to murmur much at you,

* From Halliwell's *Archaic and Provincial Dictionary*.

For leaving of them in the lurch,
 And letting straingers zerve the church,
 Who are in haste to go agen;
 Zo, we ha'nt zang the Lord knows when.
 And for their preaching, I do know,
 As well as moost, 'tis but zo, zo.
 Zure if the call you had were right,
 You ne'er could thus your neighbours slight;
 But I do fear you've zet your aim on
 Naught in the world but vilthy mammon, &c.

2

From Akerman's "Wiltshire Tales."

Everybody kneows old Barnzo, as wears his yead o' one zide. One night a was coming whoame vrom market, and vell off's hos into the road, a was zo drunk. Some chaps coming by picked un up, and zeein' his yead was al o' one zide, they thought 'twas out 'o jint, and began to pull 't into 'ts pleace agen, when the owld bwoy roar'd out, "Barn zo (born so), I tell 'e!" Zo a' was allus called owld Barnzo ever a'terwards.

Whilst Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, like Berkshire, are poor in dialectical characteristics, Hants, like Dorset (for which Barnes' poems are the classical work), preserves a good deal of the old language, its dialects belonging, evidently, to the Dorset and Wilts division.

SPECIMEN.*

Isle of Wight Dialect.

JAN. What's got there you?

WILL. A blastnashun straddlebob craalun about in the nammut bag.

JAN. Straddlebob! Where ded'st leyarn to caal'n by that neyam?

WILL. Why what shoud e caal'n? tes the right neyam, esn ut?

JAN. Right neyam, no! why ye gurt zote vool casn't zee tes a Dumbledore?

WILL. I knows tes, but vur aal that Straddlebob's zo right a neyam vorn as Dumbledore ez.

* From Halliwell's *Archaic and Provincial Dictionary*.

JAN. Come, I'll be deyand if I doant laay thee a quart o'that.

WILL. Done! and I'll ax meyastur to night when I goos whooam, beet how't wool. (Accordingly meyastur was applied to by Will, who made his decision known to Jan. the next morning.)

WILL. I zay, Jan! I axed meyastur about that are last night.

JAN. Well! what did 'ur zay?

WILL. Why a zed one neyam ez jest zo vittum vorn as tother, and he louz a ben caald Straddlebob ever zunce the island was vust meyad.

JAN. The devvul a hav! if that's the keeas I spooas I lost the quart.

WILL. That thee has't lucky! and we'll goo down to Arverton to the Red Lion and drink un ater we done work.

§ 269. *The Northern—Northumbrian—Group of Dialects.*—It is safe to say that a line drawn from Warrington to Chesterfield, and from Chesterfield to Goole, gives us a limit concerning which we may predicate that everything to the north, and something to the south of it, is *Northumbrian*. Able writers indeed, make the southern part of Yorkshire, and South Lancashire Mercian. I think, however, that they have allowed themselves to be misled by the *political* value of the term.

The extent to which certain important districts *south* of this line are also Northumbrian is another question.

The more prominent dialects of this class scarcely yield to the Exmoor and West Somerset forms of speech in their departure from the ordinary English.

The divisions and sub-divisions of this group are numerous, and, in some cases, well-defined. Nevertheless, they graduate into each other.

The South Lancashire is well-known from the specimens of Collier (Tim Bobbin). Rochdale, Oldham, and Bury are (I believe) the *towns* nearest this standard.

SPECIMEN.*

TUM. Theaws no peshunce, Meary; boh howd te tung on theawst hear in o snift: for theaw mun know, ot tis some cunstable wur os preawd ot id tean poor Tum prisner, or if theaw'd tean o hare on had hur eh the appern meet neaw; boh th' gobbin ne'er considert

* From *Tim Bobbin*—the spelling somewhat exaggerated.

o' honging would naw be cawd good spooart be ony body eh ther senses, on wer enough fort' edge o finer mon's teeth in mine. Heawe'er he knock os bowdly ot justice's dur, os if id ha dung it deawn. This fotcht o preaw'd gruff felly eawt, whooa put us int' a pleck we as money books an papers os a cart wou'd howd. To this mon (whoa I soon perceiv't wur th' clark) th' cunstable tow'd meh wofoo kese; an eh truth, Meary, I'r os gawmless os o goose, on began o whackering os if I'd stown o how draight o horses. Then this felly went eawt o bit, on with him coom the justice, whoa I glendurt sooar, an thowt he favort owd John o' Dobs, whoa theaw knows awlus wears a breawnish white wig, ot hong on his shilders like keaw-teals. "Well, Mr. Cunstable," sed justice, "whot han ye brought me neaw?" "Why, pleeos yer worship, ween meet neaw tean o horse-steyler, whoa wur meying off with tit os hard os he cou'd." Od, thought I't meh seln, "neaw or never" Tum! speyke for the sell, or theawrt throttl't ot tis very beawt; so I speak up, an sed, "that's naw true, Mr. Justice: for I'r boh goink ofoot's pese." "Umph," said th' justice, "there's naw mitch difference as to that point. Heawe'er, howd teaw the tung, yung mon, and speyk when the'rt spokk'n too. Well, theaw mon ith breawn cooat, theeaw!" sed th' justice, "whot has theaw to sey ogen this felly here? Is this tit thy tit, seys to?" "It is, sur." "Here clark, bring's that book, on lets swear him." Here th' justice sed o nominy to 'im, on tow'd 'im he munt tey kere o whot eh sed, or he moot as helt be foresworn, or ong that yeawth there. "Well, on theaw seys ot tis tit's thy tit, is it?" "It is, pleeos yer worship." "On where had teaw him, seys to?" "I bred im, sur." "E whot country?" "Cown-edge, sur." "On when wur he stown, seys to?" "Last dey boh yusterday, abeawt three o' clock ith oandurth: for eawr Yem saigh 'im abeawt two, on we mist 'im obeawt four o'clock." "On fro Cown-edge, theaw seys?" "Yus, sur." Then the justice turn'd im to me, on sed, "Is aw tis true ot this man seys, hears to meh?" "It is," sed I, "part on't; on part on't is naw: for I did naw steyl this tit: nor ist oboon two eawrs sin furst time ot eh brad meh e'n on im." "Heaw coom theaw't be riding ovey wi' im then, if theaw did naw steyl im?" "Why, o good deed, sur; os I'r goink toart whom to dey, o felly weh o little reawnd hat, on o scrunt wig, cullur o yoars, welly, boh shorter, o'ertook meh; he wur riding o one tit on lad another. Neaw this mon seeink I'r toyart, becose I went wigglety-wagglety ith' lone, he offer't meh his lad tit t' ride on. I'r fene oth' proffer, beleemy, on geet on: boh he ride off, whip on spur, tho he cou'd hardly mey th' tit keawnter, on wou'd

stey on meh ot on eleheawse ith' road. Naw, measter justice, I'd naw gon three-quarters on o mile boh theese fok o'ertean meh; tow'd meh I'd stown th' tit, on neaw han brought meh hither, os in I'r o 'Yorshar horse-steyler.' On this is aw true, master justice, or mey I ne'er gut' on ill pleck when eh dee."

*The Oldham Weaver.**

1.

Oi'm a poor cotton-weyver, as mony a one knoowas,
 Oi've nowt for teh yeat, an oi've woorn eawt my clooas,
 Yo'ad hardly gi' tuppence for aw as oi've on,
 My clogs are boath brosten, and stuckins oi've none,
 Yo'd think it wur hard,
 To be browt into th' warld,
 To be—clemmed, an do th' best as yo con.

2.

Owd Dicky o' Billy's kept telling me lung,
 Wee s'd ha' better toimes if I'd but howd my tung,
 Oi've howden my tung, till oi've near stopped my breath,
 Oi think i' my heeart oi'se soon clem to deeath,
 Owd Dicky's weel crammed,
 He never wur clemmed,
 An' he ne'er picked ower i' his loife.

3.

We tow'rt on six week—thinking aitch day wur th' last,
 We shifted, an' shifted, till neaw we're quoite fast;
 We lived upo' nettles, whoile nettles wur good,
 An' Waterloo porridge the best o' eawr food,
 Oi'm tellin' yo' true,
 Oi can find folk enow,
 As wur livin' na better nor me.

4.

Owd Billy o' Dans sent th' baileys one day,
 Fur a shop deebt oi eawd him, as oi could na pay,
 But he wur too lat, fur owd Billy o' th' Bent,
 Had sowed th' tit an' cart, an' ta'en goods fur th' rent,
 We'd neawt left bo' th' owd stoo',
 That wur seeats fur two,
 An' on it ceawred Marget an' me.

* From *Mary Barton*, vol. i. pp. 51, 52.

5.

Then t' baileys leuked reawnd un as sloy as a meawse,
 When they seed as aw t' goods were ta'en eawt o' t' heawse,
 Says one chap to th' tother, " Aws gone, theaw may see ;"
 Says oi, " Ne'er fret, mon, yeur welcome ta' me."

They made no moor ado
 But whopped up th' eawd stoo',
 An' we booath leet, whack—upo' t' flags !

6.

Then oi said to eawr Marget, as we lay upo' t' floor,
 " We's never be lower i' this warld, oi'm sure,
 If ever things awtern, oi'm sure they mun mend,
 For oi think i' my heart we're booath at t' far eend ;

For meeat we ha' none ;
 Nor looms teh weyve on,—
 Edad ! they're as good lost as fund."

7.

Eawr Marget declares had hoo clooas to put on,
 Hoo'd goo up to Lunnon an' talk to th' greet mon ;
 An' if things were na awtered when there hoo had been,
 Hoo's fully resolved t' sew up meawth an' eend ;

Hoo's neawt to say again t' king,
 But hoo loikes a fair thing,
 An' hoo says hoo can tell when hoo's hurt.

The Westmoreland dialect is closely allied to the Cumberland (both being Scotch rather than English), represented by the following

EXTRACT.

The Impatient Lassie.

Deuce tek the clock ! click-clackin' sae
 Ay in a body's ear ;
 It tells and tells the teyme is past
 When Jwohnnny sud been here.
 Deuce tek the wheel ! 'twill nit rin roun,
 Nae mair to-neet I'll spin,
 But count each minute wid a seegh
 Till Jwohnnny he steals in.

How neyce the spunky fire it burns
For twee to sit beseyde,
And theer's the seat where Jwhonny sits—
And I forget to cheyde;
My fadder, tui, how sweet he snwores,
My mudder's fast asleep—
He promis'd oft, but, oh! I fear
His word he wunnet keep.

What can it be keeps him frae me?
The ways are nit sae lang,
And sleet and snow are nought at aw
If yen were fain to gang:
Some udder lass, wi' bonnier feace,
Has catch'd his wicked ee,
And I'll be pointed at at kurk—
Nay, suiner let me dee!

O durst we lasses nobbet gang
And sweetheart them we leyke,
I'd run to thee, my Jwohnnny, lad,
Nor stop at bog or deyke:
But custom's sec a silly thing—
Thur men mun hae their way,
And monie a bonny lassie sit
And wish frae day to day.

I yence hed sweethearts monie a yen
They'd weade thro' muck and mire,
And when our fwok wer deed asleep
Com' tremlin' up to t' fire.
At Carel market lads wad stare,
And talk, and follow me;
Wi' feyne shwort keakes, ay frae the fair,
Baith pockets cramm'd wad be.

O dear! what changes women pruiue
In less than seeben year,
I walk the lonnins, owre the muir,
But de'il a chap comes near!
And Jwohnnny I nee mair can trust,
He's just like aw the lave;
I fin' this sairy heart 'll brust!
I'll suin lig i' my grave!

But, whisht!—I hear my Jwohnnny's fit—
 Aye, that's his varra clog!
 He steeks the faul yeat softly tui—
 Oh, hang that cwoley dog!
 Now hey for seeghs and suggar words,
 Wi' kisses nit a few—
 This warl's a perfe't paradeyse
 When lovers they pruiue true!

The Durham forms of speech closely approach the North-
 umberland.

SPECIMEN.*

In a town near Newcassel, a pitman did dwell,
 Wiv his wife named Peg, a tom-cat, and himsel;
 A dog called Cappy, he doated upon,
 Because he was left by his great uncle Tom.

Weel bred Cappy, famous au'd Cappy;
 Cappy's the dog, Talliho, Talliho!

His tail pitcher-handled, his colour jet black;
 Just a foot and a half was the length of his back;
 His legs seven inches frer shoulders to paws,
 And his lugs like twe dockins, hung owre his jaws.

Weel bred Cappy, famous au'd Cappy,
 Cappy's the dog, Talliho, Talliho!

For huntin' of varmin reet cliver was he,
 And the house frer a' robbers his bark wad keep free.
 Could baith fetch and carry; could sit on a stool,
 Or, when frisky, wad hunt water-rats in a pool.

Weel bred Cappy, &c.

As Ralphy to market one morn did repair,
 In his hatband a pipe, and weel combed was his hair;
 Ower his arm hung a basket—thus onwards he speels,
 And enter'd Newcassel wi' Cap at his heels.

Weel bred Cappy, &c.

He hadn't got further than foot of the side,
 Afore he fell in with the dog-killin' tribe;
 When a highwayman fellow slipp'd round in a crack,
 And a thump o' the skull laid him flat on his back!

Down went Cappy, &c.

* *Handley Cross*, vol. ii. pp. 76-78.

Now Ralphy, extonish'd, Cap's fate did repine,
 While its eyes like twee little pearl buttons did shine;
 He then spat on his hands, in a fury he grew,
 Cries, "'Gad smash! but ar'l hev settisfaction o' thou,
 For knockin' down Cappy," &c.

Then this grim-luiken fellow his bludgeon he raised,
 When Ralphy eyed Cappy, and then stood amazed;
 But fearin' aside him he might be laid down,
 Threw him into the basket, and bang'd out o' town.
 Away went Cappy, &c.

He breethless gat hyem, and when liftin' the sneck,
 His wife exclaim'd, "Ralphy! thou's suin gettin' back;"
 "Getten back!" replied Ralphy, "ar wish ar'd ne'er gyen,
 In Newcassel, they're fellin' dogs, lasses, and men.
 They've knocked down Cappy, &c.

"If aw gan to Newcassel, when comes wor pay week,
 Ar' liken him again by the patch on his cheek;
 Or if ever he enters wor toon wiv his stick,
 We'll thump him about till he's black as au'd Nick,
 For killin' au'd Cappy," &c.

Wiv tears in her een, Peggy heard his sad tale,
 And Ralph wiv confusion and terror grew pale;
 While Cappy's transactions with grief they talk'd o'er,
 He creeps out o' the basket quite brisk on the floor!
 Weel done, Cappy! &c.

In Yorkshire, the Cleveland dialect is allied to the Durham.
 In the southern parts of the East Riding it is modified by the
 literary English, losing some of its broader characteristics.

In Holderness our Lincolnshire specimen runs as follows:—

Our Polly is a sad Slut, &c.

Oor Polly is a sad slöot, sheh eeds not wat we 've tow't er,
 Ah wöondher ony man on ath should ivver rear a dowter,
 Fo sheh mun ev boath oods an goons, an oops te swell er praide,
 An scahfs, an staas, angleaves, an leace, an she 'll hae men besaide;
 An wen she 's dhriss'd wi' care an cost se temtin faine an gay,
 As men should sahve a coöcömer, sheh flings hersen away.

The following is an extreme sample of the dialect about Roseberry Topping.

This is te gie nōātice, Jamz Pickersgill yats his yune te morn t'morn, te morn t' nēān, an te morn t' neet an ne'er langer, se lang as storm hoāds, coz he caen't get eldin = This is to give notice, James Pickersgill heats his oven to-morrow at morn, to-morrow at noon, and to-morrow at night, and not longer, so long as the bad weather lasts, because he can't get fuel.

*Sheffield Dialect.**

Cum all yo cutlin heroes, where'ersome'er yo be,
 All yo wot works at flat-backs, cum lissen unto me;
 A basketful for a shillin,
 To mak em we are willin,
 Or swap em for red herrins, ahr bellies tubbe fillin,
 Or swap em for red herrins, ahr bellies tubbe fillin.
 A basket full o' flat-backs o'm shure we'l mak, or mooar,
 To ger reit into't gallara, whear we can rant an roar,
 Thro' flat-backs, stooans, an sticks;
 Red herrins, booans, an bricks;
 If they dooant play Nansa's fansa, or onna tune we fix,
 We'l do the best at e'er we can to braik sum ore ther necks.
 Hey, Jont, lad, is that thee, where are ta waddlin too?
 Dusta work at flat-backs yit, as thahs been used to do?
 Hah, cum an tha'st gooa wimma,
 An a sample o will gi'tha;
 It's won at o've just fooaged uppa Jeffra's bran new stidda;
 Look at it well, it duz excel all't flat-backs e ahr smitha.
 Let's send for a pitcher a' ale, lad, for o'm gerrin varra droi;
 O'm ommast chooakt we smitha sleek, the woind it is so hoi.
 Ge Rafe and Jer a drop,
 They sen they cannot stop,
 They're e sich a moita hurra to get to 't penny hop.
 They're e sich a moita hurra to get to 't penny hop.
 Here's Steeam at lives at Heela, he'l soon be here, o kno.
 He's larnt a new Makkarona step, the best yo ivver saw;

* *Sheffield Dialect*.—By A. Bywater. 1839.

He has it sooa compleat,
 He troies up ivvera street,
 An ommast braiks all't pavors we swattin dahn his feet.
 An Anak troies to beat him whenivver they dun meet.

 We'l raise a tail be Sunda, Steeam; o kno whoa's won to sell;
 We'l tee a hammer heead at end, to mak it balance well.
 It's a reit new Lunnon tail;
 We'l ware it kail for kail;
 Ahr Anak browt it we him, that neet he cum bi't mail.
 We'l drink success unto it—hey! Jont, lad, teem aht t'ale.

From Hallamshire the dialect changes but little in the direction of (a) Derby and Nottingham, where the speech again graduates into the (b) Cheshire and (c) Staffordshire.

(a.)

*A Dialogue between Farmer Bennet and Tummus Lide.**

FARMER BENNET. Tummus, why dunnur yo mend meh shoon?

TUMMUS LIDE. Becoz, mester, 'tis zo cood, I connor work wee the tachin at aw, I've brockn it ten times I'm shur to do. It freezes zo hard. Why Hester hung out a smock frock to dry, an in three minits it wor frozen as stiff as a poker, and I conner afford to keep a good fire; I wish I cud, I'd soon mend yore shoon, an uthers tow. I'd soon yarn sum munney, I warrant ye. Conner yo find some work for m', mester, these hard times? I'll doo onnythink to addle a penny. I con thresh—I con split wood—I con mak spars—I con thack, I con skower a dike, an I con trench tow, hut it freezes so hard. I con winner—I con fother, or milk. If there be need on't, I woodner mind drivin plow or onnythink.

FARMER B. I hanner got nothin for ye to doo, Tummus; but Mester Boord towd me jist now that they wor gooin to winner, an that they shud want sumbody to help 'em.

TUMMUS L. O, I'm glad on't, I'll run oor an zee whether I con help 'em, bur I hanner bin weein the threshold ov Mester Boord's doer for a nation time, becoz I thoot misses didner use Hester well; bur I dunner bear malice, an zo I'll goo.

FARMER B. What did misses Boord za or doo to Hester then?

* From Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Introduction, p. 31, quoted in Halliwell.

TUMMUS L. Why, Hester may be wor summut to blame too; for her wor one on 'em, de ye zee, that jaw'd Skimmerton,—the mak gam that frunted zum o' the gentlefook. They said t' wor time to dun wee sick litter, or sich stuff, or I dunner know what they caw'd it, but they wor frunted wee Hester bout it; an I said, If they wor frunted wee Hester, they mid bee frunted wee me. This set misses's back up, an Hester hanner bin a charrin there sin. But 'tis no use to bear malice; zo I 'll goo oor, and zee which we the winde blows.

(b.)

Farmer Dobbin.

A Day wi' the Cheshur Fox Dugs.

"Thear 's slutch upo' thoi coat, mon, thear 's blood upon thoi chin, It's welly toim for milkin, now where ever 'ast 'ee bin?"

"Oiv bin to see the gentlefolk o' Cheshur roid a run, Owd wench! oiv bin a hunting, an oiv seen some rattling fun."

Th' owd mare was in the smithy when the huntsman, he trots through,

Black Bill agate o' ammering the last nail in her shoe;
The cuvver laid so wheam loik, and so jovial foin the day,
Says I, "Owd mare, we 'll take a fling and see 'em go away."

When up an oi'd got shut ov aw the hackney pads an traps,
Orse dealers an orse jockey lads, an such loik swaggering chaps,
*Then what a power o' gentlefolk did oi set oies upon!
A reining in their hunters, aw blood orses every one!

They'd aw got bookskin leathers on, a fitten 'em so toight,
As roind an plump as turmits be, an just about as whoit;
Their spurs wor maid o' siller, an their buttons maid o' brass,
Their coats wor red as carrots an their collurs green as grass.

A varment looking gemman on a woiry tit I seed,
An another close besoid him, sitting noble on his steed;
They ca' them both owd codgers, but as fresh as paint they look,
John Glegg, Esquoir, o' Withington, an bowd Sir Richard Brooke.

I seed Squoir Geffrey Shakerley, the best un o' that breed,
His smoiling face tould plainly how the sport wi' him agreed;
I seed the 'Arl ov Grosvenor, a loikly lad to roid,
I seed a soight worth aw the rest, his farently young broid.

Zur Umferry de Trafford, an the Squoir ov Arley Haw,
 His pocket full o' rigmarole, a rhoiming on 'em aw;
 Two Members for the Cointy, both aloik ca'd Egerton,
 Squoir Henry Brooks and Tummus Brooks, they 'd aw green collurs
 on.

Eh ! what a mon be Dixon John, ov Astle Haw, Esquoir,
 You wudna foind, an measure him, his marrow in the shoir;
 Squoir Wilbraham o' the Forest, death an danger he defois,
 When his coat be toightly buttoned up, an shut be both his oies.

The Honorable Lazzles, who from forrin parts be cum,
 An a chip of owd Lord Delamere, the Honorable Tum;
 Squoir Fox an Booth an Worthington, Squoir Massey an Squoir
 Harne,
 An many more big sportsmen, but their neames I didna larn.

I seed that great commander in the saddle, Captain Whoit,
 An the pack as thrung'd about him was indeed a gradely soight;
 The dugs look'd foin as satin, an himsel look'd hard as nails,
 An he giv the swells a caution not to roid upo' their tails.

Says he, " Yung men o' Monchester an Livverpoo, cum near,
 Oiv just a word, a warning word, to whisper in your ear,
 When, starting from the cuvver soid, ye see bowd Reynard burst,
 We canna 'ave no 'untin if the gemmen go it first."

Tom Rance has got a single oie wurth many another's two,
 He held his cap abuv his yed to shew he'd had a view;
 Tom's voice was loik th' owd raven's when he skroik'd out " Tally
 ho ! "

For when the fox had seen Tom's feace he thought it toim to go.

Eh moy ! a pratty jingle then went ringing through the skoy,
 Furst Victory, then Villager begun the merry croy,
 Then every maith was open from the oud'un to the pup,
 An aw the pack together took the swelling chorus up.

Eh moy ! a pretty skouwer then was kick'd up in the vale,
 They skim'd across the running brook, they topp'd the post an
 rail,
 They didna stop for razzur cop, but play'd at touch an go,
 An them as miss'd a footin there, lay doubled up below.

I seed the 'ounds a crossin Farmer Flareup's boundary loin,
Whose daughter plays the peany and drinks whoit sherry woin,
Gowd rings upon her finger and silk stockings on her feet ;
Says I, "It won't do him no harm to roid across his wheat."

So, toightly houdin on by'th yed, I hits th' owd mare a whop,
Hoo plumps into the middle o' the wheatfield neck an crop ;
An when hoo floinder'd out on it I catch'd another spin,
An, missis, that 's the cagion o' the blood upo' my chin.

I never oss'd another lep, but kep the lane, and then
In twenty minutes' toim about they turn'd toart me agen ;
The fox was foinly daggled, an the tits aw out o' breath,
When they kilt him in the open, an owd Dobbin seed the death.

Loik dangling of a babby, then the Huntsman hove him up,
The dugs a bayin roind him, while the gemmen croid, Whoo-hup !
Then clane an quick, as doesome cawves lick fleetins from the pail,
They worried every inch ov 'im, except his yed and tail.

What 's up wi' them rich gentlefolk and lords as was na there ?
There was noither Marquis Chumley, nor the Voiscount Comber-
mere ;
Noither Legh, nor France o' Bostock, nor the Squoir o' Peckfor-
ton—

How cums it they can stop awhom, such sport a goin on ?

Now, missis, sin the markets be a doin moderate well,
Oiv welly maid my moind up just to buoy a nag mysel ;
For to keep a farmer's spirits up 'gen things be gettin low,
Theer 's nothin loik Fox-huntin and a rattling Tally-ho !

(c.)

*Conversation between a Staffordshire Canal Boatman and
his Wife.**

LADY. Dun yo know Solden mouth Summy ?

GENT. Eees : an' a' neation good feller he is tew.

LADY. A desput quoiyet mon ! But he loves a sup o' drink. Dun
you know his woif ?

GENT. Know her, ay. Her 's† the very devil when her spirit 's up.

* Halliwell's *Archaic and Provincial Dictionary*.

† This should probably be *hoo*, Anglo-Saxon *heo* ;—and so elsewhere.

LADY. Her is. Her uses that mon sheamful; her rags him every neet of her loif.

GENT. Her does. Oive known her come into the public, and call him all the names her could lay her tongue tew afore all the company. Her oughts to stay till her's got him i' the boat, and then her mit say wha her'd a moind. But her taks aiter her feyther.

LADY. Hew was her feyther?

GENT. Whoy singing Jemmy.

LADY. Oi don't think as how Oi ever know'd singing Jemmy. Was he ode Soaker's brother?

GENT. Eees, he was. He lived a top o' Hell Bouk. He was the wickedest, swearnist mon as ever I know'd. I should think as how he was the wickedest mon i' the wold, and they say he had the rheumatiz so bad.

§ 270. *Extreme and intermediate Dialects*.—As dialects graduate into each other, it is the extreme forms that best illustrate their respective groups, whereas when the confines of another division are approached, forms grow equivocal. That the Northern and Southern dialects form such definite groups as they do, arises, to a great degree, from the negative—or non-pronounced—character of the interjacent midland forms—Mercian in some sense, though not accurately coinciding with the political boundaries of Mercia. This Mercian group is simple. So is the Saxon. The Northumbrian, on the other hand, may have, as our knowledge advances, to be divided and sub-divided, and that into sections, each of which may be equivalent to either of the other two classes. And on these grounds good writers have considered the southern Northumbrian as Mercian. Possibly, it may not be Northumbrian. But the most convenient test of the Mercian is its approach to the literary English.

What are the dialects of Worcester and Hereford? The current statement concerning them, viz. that they agree with those of the midland counties rather than Gloucestershire, makes them Mercian—as they probably are. But whether the Salopian is most like the Cheshire or the Hereford form of speech I cannot say. A line dividing (more or less irregularly) the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, Stafford, and Shrop-

shire, would give us the debatable frontier between the Mercian and the Northumbrian—its outline being sinuous and irregular.

§ 271. *Eastern Counties*.—As contrasted with the Northumbrian dialects those of Norfolk and Suffolk are Mercian; but whether they should be subordinated to the Mercian, as outlying forms, or placed as a separate section by themselves under the name of *East Anglian*, is uncertain. Essex has certain Kentish forms; and, perhaps, it is Kentish, Southern, or Saxon, rather than East Anglian. Middlesex is in the same category as Essex. The confusion between the *v* and *w*, so common with the native Londoner, is an Essex and Middlesex characteristic. The Londoner interchanges them not because he is a cockney, but because his town is a part of Middlesex.

§ 272. *Affiliation of Dialects*.—Compare the present chapter with the one which preceded it, and the question as to the relations of the modern dialects of the one to the ancient ones of the other will present itself—all the more forcibly for our remarks upon the difference between *simple transcription* and *transcription with accommodation*; all the more forcibly, too, for our cautions respecting the value of theatrical and other imitations of provincial forms of speech. As far, however, as I can form an opinion upon a point which has engaged less of my special study than almost any part of our literature or language, the results are by no means commensurate to the preliminary criticism. They appertain to the history of the written language rather than to that of our special provincialisms. They tell us that, in certain cases, certain MSS. were written in parts of the country different from those wherein the original works were composed. They tell us that, in certain cases, the authorship is referable to a different part of the country from that of the authorship of the standard works in Anglo-Saxon. They tell us that, in many cases, either external or internal evidence will teach us what those parts of the country were, and in the cases of two, or more, MSS. of a single work, account for *variæ lectiones* in the text. But they nowhere, or very rarely, give what we most want, viz.

the equivalent to such samples as those that have lately been laid before the reader in the dialects of their respective localities (say) seven, six, five, four, or (even) three centuries ago. The reason for this seems to be in the fact of the earlier copyists and writers, however much the dialect of the parts wherein they either transcribed or composed might deviate from the literary or cultivated English, having rarely adopted those deviations to anything like their full extent. What they wrote was the ordinary English with certain local characteristics. The difference between an imperfectly-educated North-Briton writing English without being very nice as to his Scotticisms, and Burns composing in his own native Doric, illustrates what I hold to be the difference between a copyist in (say) Gloucestershire, and a writer in the Gloucester dialect, *i.e.* after the manner in which Burns was one in the Ayrshire.

For the more northern forms of the Northumbrian the standard may have been Scotch rather than English.

The doctrine that MSS., however provincial in respect to their locality, are only imperfectly provincial in respect to their form of speech, is as much an inference from the language of our archæological critics as it is from the study of the case itself. An editor, with the text of his author before his eyes, and with that text as the main object of his attention, finds discrepancies between his MSS. which he considers extraordinary. He accounts for them by supposing a difference of either time or place in their transcription—in the instances before us, of place. He fixes this place by the means of certain peculiarities—pronouncing it to lie in Hants, Gloucester, or Yorkshire, as the case may be. Here his function ends. He has discovered certain facts connected with the history of his text, and has explained them as far as was necessary for his subject. The special investigator of our provincial dialects, however, looks upon the MSS. from a different point of view, *his* business being with the history of the particular form of speech before him—his business being to compare the old with the new, and to ascertain the connection between them. In doing this, he finds that what the editors, looking to the standard English, consider to have been provincial, he, looking to what is probably some extreme form of provincialism, treats as English—English

tinctured with a certain amount of rusticity, or archaism, as the case may be, but nothing more.

Let the following extract from Halliwell's *Dictionary of Provincialisms and Archaisms* illustrate this.

The *Romance of Octavian*, according to Mr. Disraeli, is in the Hampshire dialect, nearly as it is spoken now.

Although somewhat doubtful as to the literal correctness of this opinion, an extract from it may be compared with a modern specimen of the dialect.*

1.

The kny3tys logh yn the halle,
The mantellys they yeve menstrales alle;
Lavor and basyn they gon calle
To wassche and aryse,
And syth to daunce on the walle
Of Parys.

2.

Whan the soudan thys tydyng herde,
For vie as he wer wod he ferd;
He ran with a drawe swerde
To hys mamentrye,
And alle hys goodys ther he amerrede
With greet envye.

3.

Asterob, Jopyn, and Mahoun
He alle to-hew with hys fachoun,
And Jubiter he drew adoun
Of hys autere;
He seyde, hy nere worth a scaloun
Alle y-fere.

4.

Tho he hadde hys goddys y-bete,
He was abated of alle hys hete.
To sende hys sendys nolde he na3t lete,
Tho anoonry3t,
To Babylonye after lordes grete
To help hym fy3t.

* For this see the Isle of Wight specimen, p. 406.

So much for the difference between specimens of a given dialect in its earlier stages and specimens of the literary English as modified by provincial copyists.

The former are rare; the latter, as may be seen from the work last referred to, common.

CHAPTER V.

ISOLATED DIALECTS.

§ 273. *English Dialects not in continuity with the mother-tongue.*—Of these the most remarkable are those of—

1. *Little England beyond Wales.*—In Pembrokeshire, and a part of Glamorganshire, the language is English rather than Welsh. The following extracts from Higden have effected the belief that this is the result of a Flemish colony. “*Sed et Flandrenses, tempore Regis Henrici Primi in magna copia juxta Mailros ad orientalem Angliæ plagam habitationem pro tempore accipientes, septimam in insula gentem fecerunt: jubente tamen eodem rege, ad occidentalem Walliæ partem, apud Haverford, sunt translati. Sicque Britannia——his——nationibus habitatur in præsentibus——Flandrensis in West Wallia.*”

A little below, however, we learn that these Flemings are distinguished by their origin only, and not by their language:—“*Flandrenses vero qui in Occidua Walliæ incolunt, dimissa jam barbarie, Saxonice satis loquuntur.*”—Higden, edit. Gale, p. 210.

The following vocabulary collected by the Rev. J. Collins,* in the little peninsula of Gower, contains no exclusively Flemish elements.

Angletouch, n. s. worm.

Caffle, adj. entangled.

Cammet, adj. crooked.

Bumbagus, n. s. bittern.

Cloam, n. s. earthenware.

Brandis, n. s. iron stand for a
pot or kettle.

Charnel, n. s. place raised in the
roof for hanging bacon.

* First published in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*. No. 93.

Clit, v. *to stick together.*

Deal, n. s. *litter, of pigs.*

Dotted, adj. *giddy, of a sheep.*

Dome, adj. *damp.*

Dreshel, n. s. *a flail.*

Eddish, n. s. *wheat-stubble.*

Evil, n. s. *a three-pronged fork for dung, &c.*

Firmy, v. *to clean out, of a stable, &c.*

Fleet, adj. *exposed in situation, bleak.*

Flott, n. s. *aftergrass.*

Flamiring, s. *an eruption of the nature of erysipelas.*

Fraith, adj. *free-spoken, talkative.*

Frithing, n. s. *a fence made of thorns wattled.*

Foust, v. act. *to tumble.*

Flathin, n. s. *a dish made of curds, eggs, and milk.*

Gloy, n. s. *refuse straw after the reed has been taken out.*

Gloice, n. s. *a sharp pang of pain.*

Heavgar, adj. *heavier (so also near-ger, far-ger).*

Hamrach, n. s. *harness collar made of straw.*

Hay, n. s. *a small plot of ground attached to a dwelliny.*

Kittybags, n. s. *gaiters.*

Lipe, n. s. *matted basket of peculiar shape.*

Letto, n. s. *a lout, a foolish fellow.*

Main, adj. *strong, fine (of growing crops).*

Nesseltrip, n. s. *the small pig in a litter.*

Nommet, n. s. *a luncheon of bread, cheese, &c.—not a regular meal.*

Noppet, } adj. *lively — convales-*
Nipperty, } *cent.*

Ovice, n. s. *eaves of a building.*

Plym, v. *to fill, to plump up.*

Plym, adj. *full.*

Planche, v. *to make a boarded floor.*

Peert, adj. *lively, brisk.*

Purty, v. n. *to turn sulky.*

Quat, v. act. *to press down, flatten.*

Quapp, v. n. *to throb.*

Rathe, adj. *early, of crops.*

Reremouse, n. s. *bat.*

Ryle, v. *to angle in the sea.*

Riff, n. s. *an instrument for sharpening scythes.*

Seggy, v. act. *to tease, to provoke.*

Semmat, n. s. *sieve made of skin for winnowing.*

Shoat, n. s. *small wheaten loaf.*

Showy, v. n. *to clear (of weather); (show, with termination y, common).*

Soul, n. s. <i>cheese, butter, &c. (as eaten with bread)</i>	Slade, n. s. <i>ground sloping towards the sea.</i>
Snead, n. s. <i>handle of a scythe.</i>	Tite, v. <i>to tumble over.</i>
Songalls, n. s. <i>gleanings—to gather songall, is to glean.</i>	Toit, n. s. <i>a small seat or stool made of straw.</i>
Sull, or Zull, n. s. <i>a wooden plough.</i>	Toit, adj. <i>frisky, wanton.</i>
Stiping, n. s. <i>a mode of fastening a sheep's foreleg to its head by a band of straw, or withy.</i>	Vair, n. s. <i>weasel or stoat.</i>
Susan, n. s. <i>a brown earthenware pitcher.</i>	Want, n. s. <i>a mole.</i>
Sump, n. s. <i>any bulk that is carried.</i>	Wirg, n. s. <i>a willow.</i>
Suant, part. <i>regular in order.</i>	Wimble, v. <i>to winnow.</i>
	Weest, adj. <i>lonely, desolate.</i>
	Wash-dish, n. s. <i>the titmouse.</i>

2. *The baronies of Forth and Bargie in the County Wexford.*—The barony of Forth “lies south of the city of Wexford, and is bounded by the sea to the south and east, and by the barony of Bargie to the west. It is said to have been colonized by the Welshmen who accompanied Strongbow in his invasion of Ireland; but by the term Welshmen, as here used, we must no doubt understand the English settlers of Gower and Pembroke. Vallancey published a specimen of their language. Some of the grammatical forms can hardly fail to interest the English scholar, and we may venture more particularly to call his attention to the verbal ending *th*. In no other of our spoken dialects do we find the *th* still lingering as an inflection of the *plural* verb.”

ADDRESS IN THE BARONY OF FORTH LANGUAGE.

Presented in August, 1836, to the Marquis of Normanby, then Earl of Mulgrave, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; with a Translation of the Address in English.

To's Excellencie Consantine Harrie Phipps, Earle Mulgrave, 'Lord Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of Ireland; Ye soumissive spakeen

To His Excellency Constantine Henry Phipps, Earl Mulgrave, Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland: The humble Address of

*o' ouz Dwellers o' Baronie
Forth, Weisforthe.*

Mai't be plesaunt to th' Excellencie,

Wee, Vassales o' 'His Most Gracious Majesty' Wilyame ee 4th an az wee verilie chote na coshe an loyale Dwellers na Baronie Forth, crave na dicke luckie acte t'uck necher th' Excellencie, an na plaine garbe o' oure yola talke, wi' vengem o' core t'gie oure zense o'ye grades wilke be ee dighte wi' yer name, and whilke wee canna zie, albeit o' Governere Statesman an alike. Yn ercha an ol o' whilke yt beeth wi' gleezom o'core th' oure eene dwitheth apan ye vigerere o'dicke zovereine, Wilyame ee Vourthe unnere fose fatherlie zwae oure deis be ee spant, az avare ye trad dicke lone ver name was ee kent var ee *Vriene* o' *Levertie*, an *He fo brack ge neckers o' zlaves*—Mang ourzels—var wee dwitheth an Irelone az oure general haime—y'ast bie' ractzom home delt tous ye lass ee mate var ercha vassale, ne'er dwith ee na dicke wai n'ar dicka. Wee dewithe ye ane fose deis bee gien var ee gudevare o' ee lone ye zwae, t'avance pace an levertie, an wi'out vlinch ee garde o' general riochts an poplare vartue.—Ye pace—yea wee ma' zei ye vaste pace whilke be ee stent o'er ye lone zince th' ast ee cam, prooth, y'at we alane needed ye giftes o' general riochts, az be

*the Inhabitants of Barony
Forth, Wexford.*

May it please your Excellency,

We, the subjects of His Most Gracious Majesty William IV., and as we truly believe both faithful and loyal inhabitants of the Barony Forth, beg leave, at this favourable opportunity to approach Your Excellency, and in the simple garb of our old dialect to pour forth from the strength (or fulness) of our hearts, our strength (or admiration) of the qualities which characterise your name, and for which we have no words but of Governor, Statesman, &c. Sir, each and every condition, it is with joy of heart that our eyes rest upon the representative of that Sovereign, William IV., under whose paternal rule our days are spent; for before your foot pressed the soil, your name was known to us as the *Friend of Liberty*, and *He who broke the fetters of the slave*. Unto ourselves—for we look on Ireland to be our common country—you have with impartiality (of hand) ministered the laws made for every subject, without regard to this party or that. We behold you, one whose days devoted to the welfare of the land you govern, to promote peace and liberty—the uncompromising guardian of common rights and public virtue. The peace, yes, we may say the profound peace, which overspreads

displayte bie ee factes o' thie governmente. Ye state na dicke die o'ye lone, na whilke be ne'er fash n'ar moil, albeit "Constitutional Agitation," ye wake o'hopes ee blighte, stampe na per zwae ee be rare an lightzom. Yer name var zetch avanct avare y'e, e'en a dicke var hie, arent whilke ye brine o' zea, an ee crags o'noghanes cazed nae balk. Na oure glades ana whilke we dellte wi' mattoc, an zing t'oure caules wi plou, we hert ee zough o'ye colure o' pace na name o' 'Mulgrave.' Wi 'Irishmen' oure general hopes be ee bond, az 'Irishmen,' an az dwellers na coshe an loyale o' Baronie Forthe, w'oul dei an ercha dei, oure maunes an aure gurles, prie var lang an happie zins, horne o'leurnagh an ee vilt wi benizons, an yersel an oure zoverine 'till ee zin o'oure deis be var ay be ee go t'glade.

the land since your arrival, proves that we alone stood in need of the enjoyment of common privileges, as is demonstrated by the results of your government. The condition, this day, of the country, in which is neither tumult nor confusion, but that constitutional agitation, the consequence of disappointed hopes, confirm your rule to be rare and enlightened. Your fame for such came before you, even into this retired spot, to which neither the waters of the sea yonder, nor the mountains above, caused any impediment. In our valleys, where we were digging with the spade, or as we whistled to our horses in the plough, we heard in the word 'Mulgrave,' the sound of the wings of the dove of peace. With Irishmen our common hopes are inseparably wound up; as Irishmen, and as inhabitants, faithful and loyal, of the Barony Forth, we will daily, and every day, our wives and our children, implore long and happy days, free from melancholy and full of blessings, for yourself and good Sovereign, until the sun of our lives be for ever gone down the dark valley of death.*

§ 274 (a). *Americanisms*.—These, which may be studied in the excellent dictionary of J. R. Bartlett, are chiefly referable to five causes—

1. Influence of the aboriginal Indian languages.
2. Influence of the languages introduced from Europe an-

* *Philological Transactions*. No. 84.

terior to the predominance of English; viz. French in Louisiana, Spanish in Florida, Swedish in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and Dutch in New York.

3. Influence, &c., subsequent to the predominance of the English; viz. German in Pennsylvania, and Gaelic and Welsh generally.

4. Influence of the original difference of dialect between the different portions of the English population.

5. Influence of the preponderance of the Anglo-Saxon over the Anglo-Norman element in the American population in general.

b. Few words from the Gypsey language have mixed themselves with our standard (or even our provincial) dialects.

c. Thieves' language, or that dialect for which there is no name, but one from its own vocabulary, viz. *slang*, is of greater value in philology than in commerce. It serves to show that in speech nothing is arbitrary. Its compound phrases are either periphrastic or metaphorical; its simple monosyllables are generally those of the current language in an older form. The thieves of London are conservators of Anglo-Saxonisms. In this dialect I know of no specimens earlier than the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the dramatic literature of that age they are rife and common. The Roaring Girl, the Jolly Beggars, amongst the plays, and Decker's Bellman amongst the tracts, preserve us a copious vocabulary, similar to what we have now, and similar to what it was in Gay's time. Of this the greater part is Saxon. Here and there appears a word of Latin origin, e. g. *pannum*, bread; *cassons*, cheese.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NORSE DISTRICTS.

§ 275. IF we study the local names of Germany and Scandinavia, we shall find that when we get North of the Eyder a change takes place. In Sleswick the compound names of places begin to end in *-gaard*, *-skov*, and *-by*; in *-by* most especially, as *Oster-by*, *Wis-by*, *Gammel-by*, *Nor-by*, &c. In Jutland the forms in *-by* attain their *maximum*. They prevail in the islands. They prevail in Sweden. They are rare (a fact of great importance) in Norway. In Germany they are either non-existent or accidental. In respect to its meaning, *by* = *town, village, settlement*; and *By-en* = *the town*, is a term by which Christiania or Copenhagen—the metropolis of Norway and Denmark—is designated. Such forms as *Kir-ton*, *Nor-ton*, and *New-ton* in German, would in Danish, be *Kir-by*, *Nor-by*, *New-by*.

Now the distribution of the forms in *-by* over the British Isles has the same import as its distribution in Germany and Scandinavia. It indicates a Danish as opposed to a German occupancy. Again—the Anglo-Saxon forms are *Church* and *Ship*, as in *Dun-church* and *Ship-ton*; whereas the Danish are *Kirk* and *Skip*, as in *Orms-kirk* and *Skip-ton*. The distribution of these forms over the British Isles closely coincides with that of the compounds in *-by*.

With these preliminaries we will follow the lines which are marked out by the occurrence of the places in *-by*; beginning at a point on the coast of Lincolnshire, about half-way between the entrance to the Wash and the mouth of the Humber; the direction being south and south-west. *Ander-by* Creek, *Willoug-by* Hills, *Mum-by*, *Or-by*, *Ir-by*, *Firs-by*, *Reves-by*,

Conings-*by*, Ewer-*by*, Asgar-*by*,* Span-*by*, Dows-*by*, Duns-*by*, Hacon-*by*,* Thurl-*by*, Carl-*by** take us into Rutlandshire, where we find only Gran-*by* and Hoo-*by*. Neither are they numerous in Northamptonshire; Canons' Ash-*by*, Cates-*by*, and Bad-*by* giving us the outline of the South-eastern parts of their area. For Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Beds, nothing ends in -*by*, whilst the other forms are in *sh*, and *ch*—as *Charlton*, *Shelton*, *Chesterton* rather than *Carlton*, *Skelton*, *Casterton*. Leicestershire is full of these forms, as may be seen by looking at the parts about Melton, along the valleys of the Wreak and Soar; but as we approach Warwickshire they decrease, and there is none south of Rug-*by*. More than this, the form changes suddenly, and three miles below the last-named town we have Dun-*church* and Coach-*batch*. Tradition, too, indicates the existence of an old March or Debateable Land; for south of Rug-*by* begins the scene of the deeds of Guy Earl of Warwick, the slayer of the *Dun* Cow. Probably, too, the Bevis of Hampton was a similar† *North-ampton*-shire hero, notwithstanding the claim of the town of *South-ampton*.

The line now takes a direction northwards and passes through Bretby (on the Trent) to Derby, Leicestershire being wholly included. And here the frontier of the forest which originally covered the coal-district seems to have been the western limit to the Danish encroachments, Rotheram, Sheffield, and Leeds lying beyond, but with the greater part of Nottinghamshire and a large part of Derby within it. In Yorkshire the East Riding is Danish, and the North to a great extent; indeed the western feeders of the Ouse seem to have been followed up to their head-waters, and the watershed of England to have been crossed. This gives the numerous -*bys* in Cumberland and Westmoreland—Kirk-*by*, Apple-*by*, &c.

So much for the very irregular and remarkable outline of the area of the forms in -*by* on its southern and western sides. In the north-east it nearly coincides with the valley of the Tees—

* These are Danish forms throughout—*Asgar*-, *Hacon*-, and *Carl*-being as little Anglo-Saxon as -*by*. *Carl-by* in Anglo-Saxon would be *Charlton*.

† North-avon-ton-shire.

nearly but not quite; since, in Durham, we have *Ra-by*, *Sela-by*, and *Rum-by*. The derivatives of *castra*, on the other hand, are in *-ch-*; *e.g.* *Eb-chester*, *Chester-le-street*, *Lanchester* (*Lan-caster*). In Northumberland there are none.

I look upon this as the main Danish area of Great Britain, its occupants having been deduced from a series of primary settlements on the Humber. It coincides chiefly with the water-system of the Trent, makes Lincolnshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire the mother-countries, and suggests the notions that, as compared with the Humber, the rivers of the Wash, and the river Tees were unimportant. The oldest and most thoroughly Danish town was Grimsby. The settlements were generally small. I infer this from the extent to which the names are compounded of *-by* and a noun in the genitive case *singular* (*Candel-s-by*, *Grim-s-by*, &c.). Danish names such as Thorold, Thurkill, Orm, &c., are eminently common in Lincolnshire; and, at Grimsby, a vestige of the famous Danish hero Havelok is still preserved in *Havelok-street*. On the other hand, the number of Danish idioms in the provincial dialects is by no means proportionate to the preponderance of the forms in *-by*. In Lincolnshire it is but small, though larger in Yorkshire and Cumberland.

The extent to which the rivers which fall in the Wash are *not* characterized by the presence of forms in *-by* is remarkable. The Witham and Welland alone (and they but partially) have *bys* on their banks. Again—

Just above Yarmouth, between the Yare, the North River and the sea, is a remarkable congregation of forms in *-by*. These are more numerous in this little tract than the rest of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex together — *Mault-by*, *Orms-by*,* *Hemes-by*, &c. This may indicate either a settlement direct from Scandinavia, or a secondary settlement from Lincolnshire.

However doubtful this may be, it is safe to attribute the *-bys* on the West of England, to the Danes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, the Danes of the Valley of the Eden. These spread—

* Doubly Danish: the Anglo-Saxon form of *Orm* being *Worm*.

A. Northwards, following either the coast of Galloway or the water-system of the Annan, Locker-bie, &c.—

B. Westwards into the Isle of Man—

C. Southwards into—

a. Cheshire, Lancashire, and Carnarvonshire (*Orms-head*), always, however, within a moderate distance of the sea—*Horn-by*, *Orms-kirk*,* *Whit-by*, *Ire-by*, *Hels-by*, &c.—

b. Pembrokeshire; where in *Haver-ford* and *Mil-ford* the element *ford* is equivalent to the Danish *Fiord*, and the Scotch *Firth*, and equals the Latin word *sinus*—not *vadum*. *Guard-* in *Fish-guard* is Danish also; as are *Ten-by* and *Harold-stone*.

Such is the distribution of one branch of the Scandinavians, viz. those from Jutland, the Danish Isles, and (perhaps) the South of Sweden. That of the Norwegians of Norway is different. Shetland, the Orkneys, Caithness, and Sutherland, the Hebrides, and Ireland, form the line of invasion here. In Man the two branches meet—the Danish from the east, and the Norwegian from the north and east.

The numerous details respecting the Scandinavians in Britain are to be found in Mr. Worsaae's *Danes and Northmen*; and, besides this, the proof of the distinction just drawn between the Danes of South Britain and the Norwegians of Scotland, the Hebrides and Ireland. It lies in the phenomena connected with the form *-by*.

a. Common as they are in Denmark and Sweden, they are rare in Norway.

b. Common as are other Scandinavian elements, the forms in *-by* are almost wholly wanting in Scotland and Ireland.

Hence—*Northman* or *Scandinavian* means a *Dane* in South Britain, a *Norwegian* in Scotland and Ireland, and a *Dane or Norwegian*, as the particular case may be, in the Isle of Man, Northumberland and Durham. This is well shown, and that for the first time, in the valuable work referred to.

* Doubly Scandinavian: the Anglo-Saxon form would be *Worm-church*. Generally in compounds of this kind the Danish form *Kirk* is a prefix, the Anglo-Saxon *church* an affix; e.g. *Kirk-by*, *Off-church*. The Carnarvonshire promontories are *Orms-heads*; the Glamorganshire promontory is *Worms-head*.

Can this analysis be carried further? Probably it can. Over and above the consideration of the Frisians of Friesland, there is that of the North-Frisians. Some of these may easily have formed part of the Scandinavian invasion. The nearest approach to absolute evidence on this point is to be found in the East Riding of Yorkshire; where in Holderness we have the Frisian forms *News-om*, *Holl-ym*, *Arr-am*, and the compound *Fris-marsh*. The Leicestershire *Fris-by* is more evidently *North-Frisian*.

In Sussex the division into *Rapes* is more Norse than German. It is, however, the only sign of Norse occupancy south of the Thames. Perhaps, it came from Normandy.

As a proof of the sharpness of the line of demarcation between the Danes and Saxons, the two *castra* that formed, or belonged to the Roman station *Durobrivis* deserves notice. On the Huntingdon, or Angle, side of the Neve the present form is *Chesterton*; on the Northampton, or Danish, *Caistor*. We have, probably, here traces of a bilingual town.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LOWLAND SCOTCH.

§ 276. THE term *Lowland* is used to distinguish the Scotch of the South-east from the Scotch of the Highlands. The former is English in its immediate affinities, and German in origin ; the latter is nearly the same language with the Gaelic of Ireland, and is, consequently, Keltic.

The question as to whether the Lowland Scotch is a dialect of the English, or a separate and independent language, is a verbal rather than a real one.

Reasons for considering the Scotch and English as *dialects* of one and the same language lie in the fact of their contiguous dialects being mutually intelligible.

Reasons for calling one a dialect of the other depend upon causes other than philological, *e.g.* political preponderance, literary development, and the like.

Reasons for treating the Scotch as a separate substantive language lie in the extent to which it has the qualities of a regular cultivated tongue, and a separate substantive literature—partially separate and substantive at the present time, wholly separate and substantive in the times anterior to the union of the crowns, and in the hands of Wyntoun, Blind Harry, Dunbar, and Lindsay.

Reasons for making the *philological* distinction between the English and Scotch dialects exactly coincide with the geographical and political boundaries between the two kingdoms are not so easily given. It is not likely that the Tweed and Solway should divide modes of speech as accurately as they divide laws and customs ; that broad and trenchant lines of demarcation should separate the Scotch from the English exactly along the line of the Border ; and that there should

be no Scotch elements in Northumberland, and no Northumbrian ones in Scotland. Neither is such the case. Hence, in speaking of the Lowland Scotch, it means the language in its typical rather than in its transitional forms; indeed, it means the *literary* Lowland Scotch, which, under the first five Stuarts, was as truly an independent language as compared with the English, as Swedish is to Danish, Portuguese to Spanish, or *vice versâ*.

These (viz. those of the Swedish to the Danish, the Portuguese to the Spanish, or *vice versâ*) are the true relations between the Lowland Scotch and the English. At the same time, the early history (the *origines*) is the same for both forms of speech. So are the ethnological relations. For this reason a specimen of the Scotch of the fifteenth century is all that will be laid before the reader, the further details of its special history, as well as those of its grammatical structure, being recommended to the learning and acumen of the native North-British philologues.

Wallace, xi. 230-262.

A lord off court, quhen he approchyt thar,

Wnwisytyly sperd, withoutyn prouision ;

“Wallace, dar ye go fecht on our lioun ?”

And he said ; “Ya, so the Kyng suffyr me ;

Or on your selff, gyff ye ocht bettyr be.”

Quhat will ye mar ? this thing amittyt was,

That Wallace suld on to the lioun pas.

The King thaim chargyt to bring him gud harnas :

Then he said ; “Nay, God scheild me fra sic cass.

I wald tak weid, suld I fecht with a man,

But (for) a dog, that nocht off armes can,

I will haiff nayn, bot synglar as I ga.”

A gret manteill about his hand can ta,

And his gud suerd ; with him he tuk na mar ;

Abandounly in barrace entryt thar.

Gret chenys was wrocht in the yet with a gyn,

And pulld it to quhen Wallace was tharin.

The wod lyoun, on Wallace quhar he stud,

Rampand he braid, for he desyryt blud ;

With his rude pollis in the mantill rocht sa.
Aukwart the bak than Wallace can him ta,
With his gud suerd, that was off burnest steill,
His body in twa it thruschyt euirilkdeill.
Syn to the King he raykyt in gret ire,
And said on lowd; "Was this all your desyr,
To wayr a Scot thus lychtly in to wayn?
Is thar mar doggis at ye wald yeit haiff slayne?
Go, bryng thaim furth, sen I mon doggis qwell,
To do byddyng, quhill that with thee duell.
It gaynd full weill I graithit me to Scotland;
For grettar deidis thair men has apon hand,
Than with a dog in battaill to escheiff—
At you in France for euir I tak my leiff."

END OF VOL. I.

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